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THE REORGANIZATION OF THE NAVAL PERSONNEL.

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I. THE SUGGESTION OF A SOLUTION.

In its issue of April 15, 1898, the *London Engineer*, a leading technical journal of England, conveyed the impression, then quite general throughout Europe, that the American navy was inferior to that of Spain. Commenting upon the displacement, speed, weight of metal thrown and fire-energy of our fleet as compared with that of Spain, it said:

"There is an important difference, too, as regards speed and handiness in favor of the Spanish vessels, the average rate of her ships being 23.67 knots per hour against an average of 19.63 as ruling in those of the United States. This degradation in the average is due to the comparatively slow steaming of the three battleships. It is difficult to see where the usefulness of these heavily-armored floating citadels comes in, except to capture and sink the 'Pelayo.' The main factors of projectile-weights and fire-energy which

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the American squadron possesses are due to the slow-firing 13-inch and 8-inch guns of these battleships. Yet there is small chance of their ever catching a glimpse of the swift and handy armored cruisers of the 'Vizcaya' type, and still less chance of their getting an effective shot at them. . . . We fear that the United States may find that their obstinate determination to arm their new vessels with guns which are the creation of their own genius, has landed them in a dilemma at this juncture. Spain . . . is relatively in a better position now as regards the armament of her recent vessels than the United States. . . . In point of fact we do not believe that the Yankees thoroughly understand the spirit of mischief that they seem so determined to evoke."

In the light of what took place in Manila Bay about two weeks later, when Dewey's squadron, solely the creation of Yankee genius, met the Spanish squadron, and later still, when the "slow steaming" Oregon and her sister battleships caught "a glimpse of the swift and handy-armored cruisers of the 'Vizcaya' type" just off Santiago, it is quite evident that foreign naval experts underestimated "the speed and handiness" and efficiency of Yankee warships, and the "mischief" they were capable of doing when manned by Yankee seamen.

That the foreigner should have left us out of the account of fighting forces on land and sea was but natural. For a whole generation we had neglected the army, and, for the greater portion of that time, the navy also, while we had steadily pursued the policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs from the beginning of Washington's administration.

The remarkable success of our navy in these two great naval engagements has ended the policy of national isolation for the United States. It has won in the Philippines freedom for an oppressed people, who had endured for three centuries a worse than mediæval barbarism, and it has established a great naval and commercial base over which our flag is destined to wave. Spain's sovereignty in this hemisphere is ended and Porto Rico is to-day American territory.

The inevitable consequences of our victory are the rapid growth of our ocean shipping and merchant marine, a far broader Americanism, with the extension of our Government to newly acquired territory, the appearance of the United States as a factor in Asian affairs, and the expansion of our naval establishment to a size commensurate with our new needs and duties.

In the new era which is opening to the United States, there will be not only distant islands to defend, but there should be as well a great merchant marine, traversing every sea, to protect. In

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addition to our widely extended coast line, our West Indian and Alaskan possessions, we shall have a chain of naval stations across the Pacific, from California to the China Sea. To the defense of territory there will be added, then, the guarding of those communications which are vital elements of strategy and of victory in naval war. Without adequate force upon the sea, these objects cannot be attained. For the successful holding and development of our island territory and of our sea-borne commerce, a powerful fleet will be essential.

Of the elements which make up an efficient navy, experience has shown that the *personnel* is the most vital. "The man behind the gun" and the unseen heroes beneath the protective deck have met, during the recent war, an instant appreciation of their deeds which is an instinctive and popular recognition of a principle in naval history long since established; that the men, not the ships, are of the first importance. When John Paul Jones made his famous and defiant answer, "I have just begun to fight!" his battered hulk was sinking beneath his feet, and yet the "Serapis" struck her flag to him. The *matériel* failed; but, by unyielding valor, the *personnel* won the day. In considering, then, the subject of our territorial expansion beyond the sea, it is well to remember that the success of our colonial policy will lie largely in the efficiency of our fleet, and that, of that fleet, the *personnel* is the vital factor.

The interest of the writer in naval affairs, and especially in the *personnel*, has extended through several years. I was elected to the 54th Congress from a Brooklyn district in which is located the largest of our navy yards. This station has been practically, since the formation of our fleet, the chief center of naval industry in construction and repair. At its docks were equipped the great majority of the vessels which have done such noteworthy service in the recent war.

My assignment as a member of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives brought me at once face to face with the Line and Staff contention, which, for more than thirty years, has made the official body of our navy discordant. While the fidelity and gallantry of our naval officers, as a whole, cannot be questioned, it is still a lamentable fact that, under the antiquated organization which had been inherited from the days of sail-power, the importance of the engineer was minimized. In place of a

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united force, corps was arrayed against corps, the Line officer holding to his historic prestige and domination, the Engineer claiming, with ever growing insistence, his natural right to rank and to a share in the internal administration of the ship. It is pleasant, however, to say that this strife was purely a matter of corps and influenced officers only in their official duties, while the personal friendships between members of the line and staff were unaffected.

The prime importance of engineering in this era of mechanism is apparent to the most casual observer. On land and sea, wherever men labor, the engineer is omnipresent. In the passing of the centuries, the war-vessel had been transformed, from the galley of Carthaginian days, through the sailing age of Drake, Nelson and Farragut, to the aggregation of mechanism which, to-day, constitutes the battleship. Times had changed; the seamen, of necessity, had changed also; but the organization of the past still remained. There could be no more impressive example of the unwisdom of this principle, when carried to extremes, than the swift disaster which befell the Spanish squadrons off Santiago and in Manila Bay. With ships which were machines purely, the Spaniards had neglected engineering entirely. They had no skilled engineer corps. The subject was not included in the curriculum of their line officers. They relied upon hired machinists of foreign birth, who left their ships when war came. In the crucial hour of battle, then, the Spanish officers, brave as they were, could but face, in helpless ignorance and despair, the fighting engineers who stood behind our guns and in our engine-rooms.

Considerations such as these led me, early during my service in Congress, to introduce a bill giving to our Engineer officers a position in some degree commensurate with the importance of their work and the weight of their responsibility. The main provisions of the bill were those granting actual rank, military title, and adequate numbers to the Corps of Naval Engineers. The popular appreciation of the value of engineering, afloat as well as ashore, was notably demonstrated, to my associates and myself, by the generous support which the measure received from many institutions of learning and engineering bodies. As the Engineer Corps was still set apart as a separate body, leaving our Line officers untrained in that science, the step seemed but a partial one. But it was all that seemed practicable under existing conditions.

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During the close study of the *personnel* problem which advocacy of this measure enforced, I became impressed with the similarity of the education and duties of Line and Engineer officers. At the Naval Academy, the curriculum was identical for all cadets during the first three years of the course, the differentiation into corps and the specialization in studies coming only in the fourth year. Again, the Line officer, in his service afloat, was placed in charge of much machinery with whose manipulation and maintenance he must—to be efficient in his work—be acquainted. Finally, the Engineer officer, in addition to his professional duties, controlled necessarily large bodies of men, whose discipline lay almost wholly in his hands. The logical conclusion from these premises seemed apparent—that the solution of the problem of the *personnel* lay in the combination of the Line and Engineering branches of the navy into one body of officers, whose members should be trained to all duties on the bridge, with the battery, and in the engine room.

These views were strengthened further by consultation with able officers, whose wide experience and sincere desire for the welfare of the service gave their opinions great weight. As a member of the Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy in June, 1897, I brought the subject to the attention of my associates. Among the number were Capt. John Wilkes, the oldest living graduate of the Academy; Capt. J. W. Miller, a graduate and former instructor at Annapolis, who has since been instrumental in bringing the naval militia of New York to its present high efficiency; and Mr. Geo. E. Garretson, a graduate of West Point—all gentlemen of expert knowledge and large information upon naval and military affairs. That board, as a whole and after careful investigation, embodied in its report the following paragraph, practically recommending the amalgamation of the Line and Engineering branches:

"That the four years' curriculum be alike to all, so that every graduate shall enter the service under like conditions and be assigned to alternating duties on deck, in the engine room, or in charge of the purchasing and commissary departments of the vessel. The graduate thus becomes, at the end of his four-year course, a naval officer, enters the wardroom as an ensign, is trained to habits of command, and associates under like circumstances with his brother officers of higher rank."

This recommendation was also included, in greater detail and in more emphatic form, in the report of Capt. Miller, Chairman

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of the Sub-Committee of the Board on Conditions of Admission, Subjects of Study, and Standard of Scholarship. From that report, the following extract is taken:

"*Subjects of study and standard of scholarship.*—These depend upon the aims of the Academy. The report of your committee, from the short time in which it must accomplish its work, must be more or less superficial, but we have based our conclusions upon views received from distinguished officers and civilians who have been in the navy.

"While the Naval Academy is to-day graduating alumni second to none of those from any college in the country in technical knowledge and scientific ability, it is not sending into the service the best sea officer possible, considering the time and money expended on his education. Looking about for the reason of this condition of affairs, we do not think it lies altogether within the walls of this institution. The various drills which have been witnessed show the highest standard of proficiency. The practical exercises in boats, sailing, seamanship, navigation, and athletics are highly commended. The discipline is excellent and fully up to the high standard expected of this Academy. The evil must therefore lie either in the theoretical studies, or perhaps rather in the trend of thought which has permeated many educational institutions during the past few years, and which has exerted an influence in the navy as well as in the other walks of life. This influence places scientific attainment above the study of man; it advances theories against practice; it produces critics instead of leaders; it places personal preferment above patriotic devotion. As applied to the navy in general, we find undermining evils of a most definite character, which should be at once eradicated. The first aim of the Naval Academy should be to make sure that no seed of discord, which may injure the service as a harmonious whole, should enter the minds of the youths. The studies and exercises should be confined to preparing young men for all junior positions on board ship, and technical study should be simply a groundwork for future development at a postgraduate course.

"A curriculum of four years is certainly sufficient to fit the young men for all subordinate work on board even a modern man-of-war. Each and every graduate after a four years' course, alike for all, and under exactly similar conditions, would then enter the service and could be assigned to alternating duty, either on deck, the engine room, in command of the police of the ship, or in charge of the purchasing and commissary of the vessel. In short, the graduate becomes a naval officer, entering the wardroom as an ensign, trained to habits of command, and associating at a proper age, under like circumstances, with his brother officers of higher rank. The present staff of the navy asks for lineal rank; in this way each alumnus has it. The line wishes homogeneity on board the ships; it thus obtains it. The country demands the strictest discipline and submission to one-man power, and it gains it; differences occasioned by present rival claims of different corps cease to exist; the staff disappears and the all-round man comes to the front.

"The strife between staff and line up to the present time has not been altogether an evil, as it has produced a rivalry and developed men capable of interchangeable duties. Instances are not rare to-day of graduates who have fitted themselves for all positions and lines of research, but they have not accomplished this at the Naval Academy, but after leaving it, and from experience and digested study; but the tendency to magnify the knowledge of *matériel* has led thought away from the true scope of naval training,

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while the *personnel*, by wrangling over individual preferment, has lost sight of the true dignity and development of the sailor."

Later, after my return to Washington, a further discussion of the matter with Col. Roosevelt, then the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, developed the fact that he agreed, in the main, with the views embodied in the report of the Board of Visitors. His article in this number of the REVIEW tells of the way in which the recommendation made by that board was finally elaborated into the measure, known as the Personnel Bill, which is now before Congress.

Despite the maintenance of an obsolete organization, the logic of events has forced, at our naval school, an educational evolution leading to amalgamation and to the training there of the composite naval officer of the future, whom Col. Roosevelt aptly terms the "fighting engineer." From its foundation until the outbreak of the Civil War, the academic course had little reference to engineering, and the old methods of making a sailor prevailed. That war showed the uselessness of vessels which were not steamers, and Gideon Welles, then Secretary, foresaw and predicted the ultimate absorption of Line and Engineer officers into one corps.

In 1866, a few Acting Assistant Engineers were ordered to the school as students, and the midshipmen also received a limited amount of instruction in engineering. This system did not last long, and in 1871 Congress authorized the annual appointment, by competitive examination, of a small class of Cadet Engineers, to receive a two years' course at the Academy. A further act, in 1874, directed that this course be extended to four years. In 1882, as a result, it is said, of Line and Staff strife, the grade of Cadet Engineer was abolished, and with it the excellent system of competitive examination by which these officers entered the service. All Cadets then pursued the same studies and the Naval Academy began, with regard to its whole student body, to assume the appearance of an engineering school.

It was hoped that the law of 1882 would make the service more homogeneous and check the strife within it. This end was but partially accomplished, however, since the cadets, after graduation, were still separated into two corps, but with duties many of which were similar, and so related as to make the question of control a debatable one. This was notably the case with electric machinery, which was under the direction of the Line offi-

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cers, who also directed the manufacture of ordnance, which had become of high-class mechanical engineering. There were thus, practically, two engineer corps, one confined to the propelling machinery, and the other absorbing gradually all remaining technical work. With but a change in the time of separation into corps, this wholly irrational system continues to this day. There will be noted, however, the fact that, despite its disadvantages, its inevitable friction, and the overwhelming influence of tradition and conservatism, the needs of an age of steam, steel and electricity have slowly but very surely turned the whole trend of education at the Naval Academy toward engineering, and toward the evolution of the naval officer of our time—Col. Roosevelt's "fighting engineer."

Careful study of the Personnel Bill which is now before Congress, leads me to say that I regard its enactment into law as of paramount importance to our Navy. Our fleet, although always relatively small, has set, in not a few respects and on not a few memorable occasions, the pace for the navies of all nations. Its latest fighting, its triumphs in engineering and in ordnance, show that the old spirit animates still the designers of our ships and the men who handle them in battle. It is but fitting, then, that it should be the first of the fleets of the world to be controlled by the wholly modern *personnel* which this measure will provide.

Perhaps the greatest advantage coming from its passage will arise from the fact that the battleship, in place of having two corps of officers, each limited to certain work, will be handled by one body, of double the number at present included in either corps, capable of performing all duties above and below deck. The recent war was happily almost without casualty among our naval officers. Such good fortune is, however, abnormal, and seems to have been due solely to the incapacity of our opponents. The modern sea fight between combatants fairly equal in ability, courage and strength, must be necessarily a scene of swift and wholesale carnage. Every officer who can be added, therefore, to the force which shall be effective wherever needed, at the battery or in the engine room, increases, by that much, the fighting strength of the ship.

This union of duties now distinct will, in my view, detract, in no way, from efficiency in the performance of the special branch of work which each corps now follows. Many men in civil life, in

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addition to their professional ability, are skilled in arts and sciences which often differ radically in kind from their regular occupations. The present duties of the Line and Engineer officers show no such dissimilarity. They are so nearly alike that to require the Line officer of the future to be skilled in both branches is really to ask less than is often met in the accomplishments of men of but ordinary attainments on shore.

It should be remembered, too, that the whole course at the Naval Academy is a rigid weeding out process directed against inferior capacity and that, in the final survival of the fittest, its graduates form a body which can be fairly assumed to be above the average in ability.

Another advantage, of which I can speak from personal knowledge, will lie in the changed relations to each other of officers of the now distinct branches. There will be no more warring corps in aggression or defence. Internal strife will give place to a sincere unbiassed desire for the highest efficiency of the service. The improvement in *morale* which will result, can be measured only by one familiar with the discord and bitterness of the past.

While I regard the proposed amalgamation as by far the most important feature of the Personnel Bill, and have limited my remarks solely to this subject, there are other matters, set forth in the measure, which would appear to be both wise and just. The provisions for a proper regulation of promotion and of pay seem to deserve favorable consideration by Congress; and the clause which gives all Staff officers actual instead of relative rank, will remove a source of discontent which has been a serious menace to the efficiency of the Navy.

If we are to have a Navy equal to the new demands created by the war with Spain, it will be economy to make it not only the best on the *matériel* side, with its ships, guns and machinery, but it must be best, also, in its *personnel*. The officers make or mar the *personnel*. Unless they are thoroughly proficient in all branches of the profession, the *personnel*, naturally, will not reach the highest standard of efficiency. The Personnel Bill will give us, I believe, the most skilled naval officers in the world, and for this reason it should have the support of every friend of the Navy and should soon become a law.

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II. THE GENESIS OF THE PERSONNEL BILL.

NOT long after I became Assistant Secretary of the Navy my attention was called, by a number of occurrences, to the fact that there was much friction in the *personnel* of the Navy between the Line officers and the Engineers. It was not so much that any one officer, or set of officers, made charges against another, but that the point of view on both sides showed a state of affairs which, if allowed to continue, would certainly be detrimental to the efficiency of the navy. It was very unpleasant to find officers of the highest standing displaying toward brother officers of a different corps a feeling of jealousy, which was emphatically unworthy of a service with such noble traditions, and of officers so single minded in their devotion to the flag.

This state of affairs demanded investigation, in order to ascertain whether something could not be done to do away with the conditions that had called it into being, and to make every officer in fact, as he already was in desire, an active helper in the upbuilding of the efficiency of the navy.

Consultation with members of the Naval Committees of the Senate and the House revealed the fact that the trouble was chronic, and had caused serious damage to the navy in Congress, for every Congressman who was doubtful as to the policy of upbuilding the navy was apt to be changed into a positive foe of the navy by this "Line and Staff" fight.

Various measures had been proposed in Congress to remedy the evils complained of; but they had always been drawn only from the standpoint of one side or the other, and did not go to the root of the matter; though one or two of them showed exhaustive research and painstaking thoroughness of work, and proved invaluable aids to us in getting up our final bill.

In the early part of the summer of 1897, the Hon. Francis H. Wilson, who had been a member of the House Naval Committee for some time and had just returned from a visit to the Naval Academy, called my attention to a plan, which he had submitted to the Board of Visitors, for increasing efficiency by educating all the cadets at Annapolis alike, and thus fitting them for duty either as line officers or engineers. About this same time, Professor Hollis, of Harvard University, formerly a naval officer of distinguished reputation, favored me with his views on this

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subject, and sketched out a plan which in some respects supplemented that of Congressman Wilson.

As these plans involved the coming together of the previously hostile factions, it was obvious that the next step was to secure the views of officers on the two sides. Accordingly, I requested an expression of views regarding these plans from officers of recognized merit. The mere discussion of the subject disposed both sides to be more reasonable, and a scheme of a bill working out the details of the previous plans was prepared and submitted to a number of officers. The idea was that the matter should be carefully investigated and discussed by large numbers of Line officers and Engineers, in order to prepare a sentiment in the service favorable to united and sincere action. The next step was to get a Board appointed by the Secretary for the special consideration of the organization of the *personnel* of the Navy, in order that a report might be submitted looking to necessary improvement. It is needless to say that Secretary Long had taken an active interest in the subject from the first, and that but for his cordial approval the matter would never have been pushed.

In November of last year the Board, of eleven naval officers, many of whom had national reputations, and all of whom were men of recognized professional eminence, was appointed by Secretary Long. To me was assigned the duty of presiding at their sessions.

These eleven naval officers showed commendable promptness in getting down to business. The views of the two sides were formulated, and on the very first day the essential feature of the Personnel Bill was proposed by Captain Evans, namely, the amalgamation of the Line and Engineer Corps on a basis to be determined after further discussion. This proposition was submitted on Saturday afternoon, and was, of course, of such great importance that it was felt better not to take a vote on it until the following Monday. On that day, after some further discussion, the proposition was adopted. After this, the labors of the Board really consisted almost entirely of formulating the details to make this plan workable. At first, each side evidently viewed the other with some suspicion; but, as time wore on, it became evident that all the members of the Board were animated by the same feelings of disinterestedness; each desired the highest efficiency of the service, and was willing to make concessions.

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The result of the labors of this Board, lasting just a month, was the bill which is known as the "Personnel Bill." I propose to discuss it chiefly from the standpoint of the administration of the Navy Department.

The change in the organization of the *personnel* which is proposed by this bill seems radical; but this is not the case. It is proposed simply in order that the officer may fit the work; because the work itself has radically changed since the present organization of the navy was devised. The advent of the steam engine, with the consequent gradual growth of machinery on board ship, is of course the cause of the change. Even as late as our Civil War, sailing ships were still employed as part of the fighting force of our navy, although the active work was performed by steamers; but it was evident to careful students at the end of that war that the day of sailing ships had passed as completely as that of the galleys, with which, two thousand years before, the wars for the mastery of the Mediterranean had been waged. Since that time the importance of machinery on board our vessels has enormously increased, while sails have entirely disappeared; and, with the growth of the machinery, the duties of the line officer have changed, until he has become in fact, although not in name, an engineer. As I stated in my report to the Secretary of the Navy:

"Every officer on a modern war vessel in reality has to be an engineer, whether he wants to or not. Everything on such a vessel goes by machinery, and every officer, whether dealing with the turrets or the engine room, has to do engineer's work. There is no longer any reason for having a separate body of engineers, responsible for only a part of the machinery. What we need is one homogeneous body, all of whose members are trained for the efficient performance of the duties of the modern line officer. The midshipmen will be grounded in all these duties at Annapolis, and will be perfected likewise in all of them by actual work after graduation.

"In making this change we are not making a revolution; we are merely recognizing and giving shape to an evolution, which has come slowly, but surely and naturally; and we propose to reorganize the navy along the lines indicated by the course of the evolution itself."

The reasonableness of this reorganization seems still more apparent if looked at in the light of the lessons of history. About two centuries and a half ago, the navies of the world underwent a radical change. There was then, also, an amalgamation of the man who fought the guns and the man who directed the motive power; or, in other words, the soldier and the sailor were amalgamated. Some of England's greatest admirals of that period were

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men who had been successful land generals; but their success at sea was not on account of their ignorance of the management of the motive power, but in spite of it. England's victories at that time were won because other navies were as inefficiently organized as hers. The Englishman, like the Dutchman and the Frenchman of that date, had a better "fighting edge" than the Spaniard, and he prevailed; just as, within the last few months, the descendants of the victors of two centuries ago were again the victors over the descendants of the vanquished of that time.

The work of the Department in detailing officers for duty will be vastly simpler under the new scheme than it has been in the past, because every officer of the new line will be capable of performing any of the duties which involve the management of large bodies of men, or the control of machinery. The *personnel* thus becomes very much more elastic, and the task of selecting officers for any duty is made very much simpler. It also means, for the Department, an end of an enormous amount of petty bickering, which was inevitable under the present system, but which has been a cause of much bitterness, and destructive of that unity of feeling which should exist among all officers. The mere agreement upon this bill of the officers concerned has already been productive of the very best results in increased good feeling; and, in fact, I am informed that on a number of ships it has already been partially put into effect, for officers have volunteered for duty foreign to their regular work and have performed it with excellent results. It need hardly be said that, if the mere agreement upon the proposition is productive of so much good, the actual working of the scheme will give still better results. Personally, I believe that it will give us a navy whose efficiency will be far ahead of that of any other country, and I know that this opinion is shared by the very great majority of our naval officers.

Besides this question of reorganizing the *personnel* so that it would conform to the improved *matériel*, there was another of just as much importance to the efficiency of the service, namely, a rational scheme of advancement whereby the best officers would be retained in the service and would attain positions of responsibility at a sufficiently early age to insure the efficient performance of duty. It might seem to the layman that, with our splendid school at Annapolis, we were sure of getting officers sufficient-

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ly well trained to answer any call upon them; but the fact is that the existing system of promotion, if it had been purposely devised to the end of putting a premium on mediocrity, could not have been more successful. At present, no matter what the talents or attainments of an officer, he can only be advanced by the death, retirement or resignation of those above him. Now, the natural and proper organization of the list of officers necessarily makes the number required for subordinate duties many times greater than the number in the command grades; so that, if it is expected that all officers are to pass through all the grades by mere seniority promotion due to ordinary natural waste, it is simply impossible that their terms of service in the various grades should be properly divided. Reference to any actuary's tables would enable the non-professional man to predict the very state of things that now exists; for, at present, officers spend four-fifths of their active life in subordinate grades, and then rush through the command and flag grades so rapidly that they have not time to perform adequate service in them. One of the evils of this system springs from the fact, well recognized in all departments of life, that, if a man is to be really successful in positions of great responsibility, he must ordinarily be given an opportunity to assume this responsibility before he becomes too old. Anyone who looks on the gray-haired lieutenants and lieutenant commanders and realizes that many of them will be fifty-five years of age before reaching command rank, will also realize that they may then be too old to make thoroughly efficient commanding officers; for it is almost an axiom of naval life that the successful commander is the one who is willing to take risks in order to accomplish a great purpose. A man who has been a subordinate all his life cannot shake off the habit of reliance on another, when he is suddenly thrust into a position of responsibility at an advanced age.

The remedy for this condition of affairs is obvious in a general way. It must consist in some provision which will enable officers to attain command rank at a reasonably early age, the one fixed by the Board being forty-five years. But, when we come to consider the details necessary to carry out this plan, there are several methods which might be adopted, some of which are actually in use in other navies. Indeed, it may be said in passing that our navy is almost the only navy, worthy of the name, where the proper promotion of officers has been left absolutely to chance.

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One method is to take specially talented officers and promote them before others of their date, keeping up this process of selection for advancement in all the grades, so that the result is an aggregation of the best talent in the higher grades at a moderate age. This, however, has the serious disadvantage that it arouses jealousy and discontent, and it tends to accumulate in the subordinate grades a crowd of old men who are not physically capable of performing the duties which fall to junior officers. Moreover, it is difficult to devise a system which in time of peace will result in the best man being chosen; in time of war, the likelihood of the choice being right is far greater.

This method, and that of the British Navy, where there is an age limit for each grade, and the best officer is just as likely to be retired as the poorest, were thoroughly understood by the members of the Board, and they endeavored to formulate a plan which, while accomplishing the desired result, would avoid defects of other systems.

The idea in the plan recommended by the Board is to keep the general average high, by retiring the least desirable officers, provision being made that, when the rate of promotion falls below that which is necessary to keep the ages for the various grades correct, a certain number of officers who have been at least twenty years in the service shall be retired. It has been urged as an objection to this plan that the officers so retired will be disgraced, but that is not a fact. They are not retired for incompetence, but because, as some must get out of the way for the benefit of the whole service, it is manifestly better that the least desirable should go, rather than that chance should be allowed to set aside the best or the worst indifferently.

The discussion also brought out very clearly the further fact that the choice for retirement of the "least fit" will comprehend all the qualities that go to make up a useful naval officer, and that every part of an officer's record will count in the consideration. Instances are numerous of men of exceptional mental attainments who, in the past, have found themselves totally unsuited to a naval life, and have resigned to become highly successful as scientists, college professors or business men. Something of this sort will be true of the selections for retirement, and it may often happen that those retired will be men who stand high mentally, but who are lacking in other essential re-

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quirements. The retirement will therefore mean, not that the one selected was incompetent or worthless, but that on the whole he was not as useful to the navy as others.

The Board's plan, then, retains the best officers, and, like the others, will fill the higher grades with them; it assures young officers for the junior grades, where youthful vigor is a very important element of success; and it leaves no soreheads in the service to impair efficiency by their discontent. Moreover, it puts all choice of officers for retirement in the hands of a board of high naval officers, so as to eliminate as far as possible that political pressure, which, wherever it exists, is the bane of any service.

These, then, are the two vital elements of the Personnel Bill; the unification of the duties of officers, resulting in vastly increased efficiency, due to the greater elasticity of the system and to the immense improvement in the *esprit;* and the rational promotion of officers, whereby the country is assured that the best men are retained in the service, so that every grade will have officers of the proper age and physique for the highest performance of duty.

One other important feature is the question of pay. This, too, has been a cause of discontent in the navy for many years, and, combined with the slow promotion, has resulted in the loss of many of the most brilliant young officers, whose poor prospects in the service have led them to accept offers of lucrative positions in civil life. The scheme proposed in the bill is to pay the navy at exactly the same rate as the army and marine corps. In these two branches of the military service, the pay is somewhat higher than in the navy, which doubtless results from the fact that the navy pay table was arranged some thirty years ago, when conditions as to promotion were very different from what they are now, and when probably it gave a result about equivalent to that of the army. No valid reason can be assigned why public servants performing almost identical duties, which require the same order of ability, should not receive the same rate of pay. Indeed, naval officers claim, with good reason, that owing to their enforced absence from home and family, and their voyages in foreign countries, their expenses are materially greater than those of their brothers in the army. Surely, the American people will not grudge this act of justice to the men who fought

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under Dewey, Sampson and Schley, and who made all Americans forever their debtors.

I have seen the statement in the papers that prize money in the navy was intended to offset this difference in pay, but that is simply absurd. Until this spring, there had not been a war for over thirty years, and, even in the war which has just closed, the number of naval officers who received prize money is a very small fraction of the entire list. The practice of giving prize money is one which is repugnant to modern ideas, and there can be little doubt that naval officers would offer no objection should the whole system of awarding prize money be abolished by Congress.

The limits of space forbid my dwelling upon the features of the Personnel Bill relating to bettering the condition of the enlisted men, which are worthy of high commendation, and which will undoubtedly receive favorable action by Congress. But the vitally important part of this particular bill is that relating to the officers who train the men, and on whose efficiency that of the whole navy depends. It is useless to spend millions of dollars in the building of perfect fighting machines, unless we make the *personnel* which is to handle these machines equally perfect. We have an excellent navy now; but we can never afford to relax our efforts to make it better still. Next time, we may have to face some enemy far more formidable than Spain. In my judgment, the Personnel Bill will markedly increase the efficiency of our already efficient officers; and its enactment into law is of interest to the whole country.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

III. A LINE OFFICER'S VIEW.

BEGINNING with 1883, and continuing down to the present time, Congress has provided with more or less regularity for an improvement and reorganization of the *matériel* of the navy, which, fortunately, had reached such a condition at the beginning of the war with Spain that our navy, although still small, was composed of thoroughly modern ships, which enabled our *personnel* to come off victorious in every engagement. The importance of having ships, guns and machinery thoroughly up to date in every respect cannot be overestimated; but the human factor is, after all, the one of greatest importance. As our best known

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writer on naval subjects, Captain Mahan, has admirably expressed it: "Historically, good men with poor ships are superior to poor men with good ships." In other words, however admirable the weapons which far-seeing statesmen provide, they will not necessarily insure victory unless the *personnel* represents the same perfection of training and organization.

The natural ability and devoted patriotism of American officers have enabled us to gain brilliant victories in the war now ending, in spite of an organization of the *personnel* which has certainly become obsolescent, if not obsolete. For a number of years past, officers of the two largest branches of the service have been endeavoring to secure reforms and reorganization, and committees of Congress have devoted considerable attention to the subject; but, owing to divided counsels on the part of the officers, the work has always come to naught.

Within the last two years, however, the broadest minds in both Corps have been nearing a solution of the problem, and about a year ago a Board was organized under the presidency of the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for the purpose of devising an organization of the *personnel* which should be abreast of the times, as thoroughly as the ships they are to command and fight. The Board, after a month's deliberation, reported a bill to the Secretary of the Navy which received his cordial approval, and was by him transmitted to Congress. After exhaustive hearings, this bill, with slight amendment and some additions, was reported favorably, without a dissenting vote, to the House.

As I understand the scheme of the discussion of this bill which is to take place in this REVIEW, it is not necessary for me to develop the matter historically, as others will do that; but I am to present the reasons, from the standpoint of a line officer of the navy, why this bill should pass, and why it will bring the efficiency of the *personnel* of the navy to the highest point.

The essential features of the bill, as originally reported, fall under three heads: First, the amalgamation of the Line and the Engineer Corps; second, provision for the retention in the service of the best officers, and for assuring suitable ages for the officers in the different grades; and, third, an additional warrant rank for enlisted men as an encouragement to the men of the engineers' force.

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It is a fundamental principle that every navy should be organized to secure the greatest fighting efficiency, and therefore, other things being equal, that navy will be most efficient where the largest percentage of officers and men are able to take their place in the fighting line. I would not be understood for a moment as depreciating the value of officers or men whose duties do not call them to the actual work of handling the battery; but, as the primary object of the ship is to fight, the more men she has who can work with the guns, the less chance there is of her being compelled to run away through a large percentage of the men at the battery being disabled.

Before the advent of steam in our naval vessels, nearly every officer was trained to take his place in the battery, and every man had this training. With the growth of the machinery department of the vessel, a larger and larger percentage of the ship's crew, together with a considerable percentage of the officers, were specially employed for the propulsion of the vessel. This has at last reached a point where, in some of our ships, the engineers' force forms nearly fifty per cent. of the crew, and the officers whose duty lies entirely with the machinery form at least thirty per cent. of the total number of officers.

Now, the whole tendency of the age is more and more toward the substitution of mechanical methods of doing work for simple manual labor, and the navy not only recognizes this, but has taken advantage of it to the fullest extent. The increase in the amount of machinery necessarily requires an increase in the *personnel* handling it; but, if we are going to allow the officers and men who do duty with the machinery to do nothing else, we are losing a very large force which, under certain circumstances, could be of the greatest benefit in the fighting line.

Fifty years ago, when the naval officer of the period knew absolutely nothing of machinery, when the vessels were propelled entirely by sail power, and when guns were simply iron castings, the proposition which is now made, to combine in one person the line officer and the engineer, would have been ridiculous; but, as time has passed, the line officers' training has had more and more to do with machinery, until to-day the thoroughly proficient line officer must of necessity be a good deal of an engineer. The modern guns are themselves highly complicated machines, and they are designed and cared for by line officers. The electric

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machinery for lighting and other purposes, the torpedoes and the air compressing machinery for them, are also under the control of line officers. To make the line officer an engineer, therefore, is simply to take the final step in the evolution.

On the other hand, the engineers since 1866 have been almost entirely recruited from our Naval Academy, where for three years their training is almost absolutely identical with that of the line officers, and where they take part in all the drills and military exercises. Their tours of duty at sea have given them the sea habit, and trained them in the command and discipline of large bodies of men; so that they require only additional work in seamanship, navigation and ordnance to fit them for the new duties.

The fundamental studies for the two classes of officers at our Naval School are now exactly the same, and the Board of Officers which prepared the bill—a majority of whom had had experience as instructors at the Naval Academy—were satisfied that the curriculum can without difficulty be so changed as to give the future officers a thorough training for their new and enlarged duties.

The advantages of having the officers who are principally concerned with the management of the ship and the discipline of the crew all members of one homogeneous body, instead of forming two separate corps, appeal very strongly to a commanding officer. It practically doubles the number of officers available for duty of every kind, thereby greatly increasing the elasticity of the system, and providing for every contingency. It seems inevitable that, where the line of demarcation between bodies of officers is clearly marked, there will grow up a spirit of pride in the Corps instead of pride in the Service, and such a condition has at times in the past caused an unfortunate amount of hard feeling between the different corps of the service; but the very agreement upon this bill has already reduced this to an inappreciable minimum, and with the passage of the bill it will necessarily vanish.

A very ready comment adverse to the scheme has been made by those not thoroughly familiar with modern naval conditions, by quoting the well-known adage about "jacks of all trades." Now, it may be remarked that a sneer is not an argument, and an adage, however venerable, is not necessarily always true. This is exactly such a case. We are told that the tendency of the age is toward specialization, and that in the Personnel Bill we are running directly counter to it. There never was a greater mistake. In the

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first place, while the tendency of the age is toward specialization, this is true only of great congeries of people, as in our large cities. One does not find in a small country town the oculist, the aurist, the throat specialist, and the numerous specialists among surgeons. The analogy here suggested with the navy is reasonable, in that each ship is a little unit of itself, and there is no place for specialization carried to the extent that is appropriate and efficient in great communities.

But the actual fact is that, so far from making the naval officer of the future a "jack of all trades," we are making him a specialist of the most marked type. Matters have gradually so shaped themselves that the efficient naval officer must be a man who, to the preliminary training of an engineering course, adds that of the skilled military officer. There is no other military officer who needs in the same way to be an engineer, and there is no other engineer who needs in the same way to be a military man; consequently, the naval officer, being trained for the efficient performance of these highly specialized duties, is a thorough specialist in the best sense.

I do not lay claim to any special engineering knowledge myself, my early training having taken place before machinery had occupied the position that it does now; but, as having commanded a number of steam vessels, some of them of the most modern type, I feel that my opinion as to the possibilities on board naval vessels is entitled to some weight, and I certainly see no difficulty in carrying out the scheme of this bill. The fact that such capable engineers as the Engineer-in-Chief of the Navy believe that the machinery will, under the new system, receive as thorough care and attention as it does now, ought to satisfy anyone who has any doubt on that point.

The second division of the bill is one which is of vital importance to the highest efficiency of the new organization, namely, the retention in the service of the best officers, and the assurance that the ages of officers will be suitable to the grades which they occupy.

This is a question which does not arise in civil life, or, rather, it solves itself there by a process of natural selection; but the highly specialized nature of the duties of naval officers prevents natural selection from having full play. No one in private life would think of managing a large and important business by arbi-

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trarily discharging all of his employees when they reach a certain age, and filling the highest positions with the employees longest in service, irrespective of their special fitness for them. When presented in this way, the idea seems perfectly absurd, and yet this is exactly the system under which the navy is organized to-day. It is true that we insure a fairly high average of ability by the weeding out process which occurs at the Naval Academy, and by the examination for promotion from grade to grade afterward; but the fact remains that so long as an officer behaves himself and passes the examinations he is sure some day to reach the highest position in the service, regardless of his special fitness for it. Ours is the only navy in the world in which matters are allowed to go in this fashion.

It has several serious disadvantages. From the very nature of things the number of officers in subordinate grades must vastly exceed that in what may be called "the command ranks," and the disparity is such that it is impossible, by simple seniority promotion, to guarantee such a steady progress of the individual officer through the various grades as to insure his reaching them at ages when he can perform the best service. As a consequence of this, there are periods of stagnation in promotion, followed by other periods when it is extremely rapid; these, in turn, being again followed by stagnation, with the result that the ablest of the young officers who come into the lower grades at a period of stagnation have such a poor outlook that many of them are impelled to leave the service and seek a better financial return for their work in civil life. This necessarily tends to lower the average ability, and, what is worse, removes from the service the men whom the Government had a right to count upon some day for service as brilliant Commanders-in-Chief.

The stagnation of promotion has the effect of keeping officers in subordinate grades altogether too long, and until they have reached an age when the acceptance of serious responsibility for the first time is apt to have a very disastrous effect upon their *morale*. The navy has been suffering from just such a stagnation for the last twenty years, with the result that many of the older lieutenants are now over fifty years of age, with the prospect of not reaching command rank until they are nearly sixty. It is not right that men of such an age should be assigned to watch duty and the details which belong to a divisional officer. They should have

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passed through this stage of their professional career before reaching the age of forty. The consequence is that the Government does not get the best service for the money it expends, and, while the officers are faithful and do their work with all the zeal possible, it can be readily understood that they have not that snap and vigor which would be displayed by younger men, and which is essential for the highest efficiency.

The Personnel Bill is carefully drawn to avoid all these evils. It provides for a definite rate of progress, so that an officer will have passed out of the subordinate grades before he is forty, and after an intervening period in the executive officers' grade, will become a commanding officer at forty-five, a time when he is in full vigor and thoroughly able to accept responsibility without its wearing upon him. This is accomplished by the provision that, when the natural waste of the service from age retirements and casualties does not provide a sufficient number of vacancies, a Board of Officers of the highest rank is to select officers in the various grades (not to exceed limited numbers) to be placed on the retired list, and the officers who are so selected are to be the ones considered by the Board least fit to remain on the list. This does not mean that they are incompetent, but that where only a certain number can be retained to insure efficiency, they are the ones who can best be spared.

Various systems of promotion, designed to secure in the highest grades the officers of the greatest ability, are in vogue in foreign navies; but I believe the system recommended in the Personnel Bill is the one which, while securing the desired result, has the fewest objections. To the plan followed in the French navy, of selecting specially brilliant officers for promotion before others of their date, there is the objection that it engenders heartburnings and hard feeling which remain in the service and tend to create dissatisfaction. The system in the Personnel Bill removes from the active service those who are least worthy, and if they have any grievance they take it along with them. It is easy to see that after a period of, say, twenty years, the officers filling the upper grades will be just about the same, whichever method is adopted.

In connection with the selection of officers for retirement, it is to be noted that it does not of necessity involve anything in the nature of disgrace, for the reason that all the qualities which

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go to make up a desirable officer will be taken into consideration by the board of selection. Health, as well as brilliant professional attainments, will be a consideration, and there can be little doubt that some of the officers who would be selected to go on the retired list would be men noted for their mental ability, but of such feeble health that their duties at sea could not be efficiently performed. Again, it is to be remembered that the ability to command men is one of the most important qualifications of the successful naval officer, and it often happens that a man of moderate ability in other directions displays exceptional talent in this one. There can be no doubt that this would be given due weight and that the brilliant officer who cannot handle men, or get work out of them, would not have the advantage of the less brilliant one who can make a ship thoroughly efficient.

The stimulus to all officers to do their very best work and make their record the very best possible from every point of view under such a system, will at once be seen to be very great. At present, for an officer of ordinary ability there is no stimulus, except the sense of duty, to make him do more than simply perform his duty satisfactorily. That our officers have, in spite of the discouraging conditions which surrounded them, kept themselves so efficient, speaks very highly for their sense of duty.

I have seen it stated that this plan of promotion is an invention of young officers, who want to get rid of the older officers above them simply from selfish motives. To my mind such a statement is utterly untenable. The plan is simply an effort to do what all other navies which try to keep efficient are doing in the way of putting officers in the places where they can render the best service; and, after careful study of the various systems in foreign navies, I am satisfied that this plan is the best.

The third feature of the bill is the establishment of the grade of Warrant Machinist. This holds out a reward for the best men of the engineers' force, who at present see nothing to encourage long and faithful service except the pittance of an additional dollar per month for each re-enlistment. There can be little doubt that the establishment of this grade of warrant officers will encourage a better class of men to come into the service as enlisted machinists, and to remain in the service, thus giving us men familiar with naval discipline, and thoroughly trained to their duties, and so increasing the efficiency of the whole service.

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As I have already said, the Personnel Bill offers a scheme which will greatly increase the efficiency of the *personnel* of the navy and place it thoroughly abreast of our *matériel.* It depends upon Congress to take this final step to place our navy ahead of all the other navies of the world. Members of Congress have repeatedly said that if the officers of the navy would ever agree upon any measure and present it unitedly, they would gladly pass the bill. This measure is not only one presented unitedly, but one which has been carefully thought out by some of the ablest officers in the navy, and whose sole aim is to secure the very highest efficiency. A majority of the Board were men who have but a few years more to serve on the active list, so that they cannot be suspected for a moment of having been influenced by personal motives, and I believe the same high sense of duty actuated the younger members of the Board; but even more convincing as to the merits of the bill is the fact that the officers of the service, almost as a unit, approve of it and want it passed.

The navy has rendered valuable service to the country in the war which is now ending, and it believes that the Personnel Bill will cure evils which have existed in the past and provide hope for the future, thus, in a sense, being some reward for its work during the war. Will the Congress pass the bill? Under all the circumstances, it seems to me the answer must be in the affirmative.

JOHN W. PHILIP.

IV. AN ENGINEER OFFICER'S VIEW.

THE laws of sea power are changeless, but the mechanism for their execution varies with the age. Modern naval war presents, therefore, marked contrasts when compared with that of the days of sailing fleets. A single generation, in fact, has seen a revolution in the *matériel* of navies. Nelson's "Victory" and our own frigate, "Constitution," were both but little over 2,000 tons displacement—mere gunboats in our day—and Farragut's "Hartford" was not one-half larger. While the "Iowa" is of 11,340 tons, our new battleships will reach 12,500, and Great Britain has vessels with a tonnage of 14,900. As to speed—although that, in the old days, was a very variable quantity—the sailing line-of-battle ship, under most favorable conditions, could make but 12 knots; her successor now attains 18 or 19, and, ap-

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parently, the limit, as to this, has not been reached. In ordnance, the advance is not less marked. The "Constitution's" puny, but ever victorious, broadside discharged a weight of metal of but 800 pounds, and, in the same time, the swifter and more powerful guns of the "Indiana" and her class will send forth projectiles weighing over six tons.

While the modern battleship is thus more formidable than a full fleet of her predecessors, her advance in power has been attended by conditions which limit its exercise and maintenance. She is no longer practically self-contained and independent of friendly ports. She can no longer, as in the past, sail to the most distant seas, needing only water and provisions at long intervals. The coal endurance of the typical battleship is usually not more than 6,000 knots, and, when that distance has been steamed over, she must seek fresh supplies.

Again, on the modern war vessel of all types, hand labor has given place largely to mechanism. By touching a button or moving a lever, she is controlled and operated in great degree. As a result—filled as the ship necessarily is with machinery of every type for every purpose—her structure is complicated and delicate, and even a few weeks of cruising on blue water make a refitting port desirable, if not essential. These are the conditions—the vital needs of the modern "fleet in being"—which have led to the successful use by our navy in the recent war of repair and supply ships, with a large force of colliers. In the vast increase in the tonnage of the battleship, in its speed and in the weight of ordnance carried, there are visible the results of a revolution in naval *matériel* wrought, within the memory of living men, by a single agency—steam.

The United States fleet has felt the effects of these changes more suddenly and more fully than the navy of any other great power. The abandonment of sail for propulsion came, with relative swiftness, in the inception of our Civil War; and after that war's close, our fleet went practically to decay. Within the past fifteen years, it has, in the quality of its ships, taken again the foremost rank, and, in their number and strength, has risen from the twentieth to the sixth place among nations. With this advancement in our ships to meet modern conditions, our *personnel*, in its organization, has not kept pace. The long history of the sea shows nothing so steadfast, nothing which withstands the

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years so firmly, as the naval law and custom which govern the duties of officers and men. For fully half a century steam has been a steadily growing factor in naval science; a generation since the United States fought the great war of modern times in which our guns afloat were borne on steamers, almost wholly; since that war the horse-power of naval vessels has grown from the maximum of 1,000 in 1864 to the 20,000 of the "Minneapolis," with machinery increasing from the scant half dozen engines of the "Monitor" to the 171 steam cylinders of the "Columbia," and with engineer officers now controlling from 25 to 50 per cent. of the crew; and yet, despite all this, the organization of our *personnel* is practically that which prevailed during the Civil War. Vice-Admiral Colomb, R. N., describes vividly the peculiar conservatism of navies as to this, when, speaking of steam and mechanism as the coming guest and the seamanship of the past as the friend who bids farewell, he says:

"Instead of frankly going out, shaking hands, and bidding good-bye to the parting guest, and wishing him well, and going down the steps to meet the new one and bring him in, we are holding on to the coat-tails of the old one and trying to shake hands with the coming guest with the left hand, or, perhaps, with only one finger."

Under a naval organization which was based on the needs of days when steam was only an auxiliary, but which has continued to the present, it could not be otherwise than that the varying interests of Line and Engineer officers, with their widely distant points of view, should produce the conflict which has been waged between these branches of our Navy for more than thirty years. Discord was inevitable—the friction between the old order, fated to pass away, and the engineer, who, in great degree, represented that which was to succeed it. The Line officer, justly proud of the past achievement of his corps, was disposed to yield none of his military functions to the newcomer; while the Engineer, trained in the same naval school and side by side with his brother of the Line, could not but see injustice in a system which gave him a vast responsibility in the care of the machinery of all types on the modern man-of-war, with the control, in some cases, of half her crew, and yet refused him the right to command enlisted men, classed him, despite his equal danger in action, as a non-combatant, and denied him the military title which, through centuries, has been associated with the fighting man.

Many able and patriotic men, within and without the Navy,

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recognizing the danger to a military service whose house was thus divided against itself, have, time and again, made efforts, until recently in vain, to find a solution of the problem which would reconcile all differences. To the Hon. Francis H. Wilson, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who, three years since, took up in Congress the cause of the engineer corps, is due, primarily, the movement which has now such strong promise of success. The present Secretary of the Navy, viewing the matter with marked impartiality and breadth of view, ordered a board of seven Line and four Engineer officers for its consideration, with, as chairman, Colonel Roosevelt, until recently Assistant Secretary, who has taken a deep interest in the subject. The outcome of the deliberations of this Board is the Personnel Bill, which meets the approval of ninety-five per cent. of the Line and Engineer officers of the Navy, which has been transmitted to Congress by the Secretary with his cordial approval, and which has been reported favorably to the House.

The most important feature of this measure is the proposition for the complete amalgamation of the Line and Engineer branches. The Engineer Corps, as it now exists, will disappear, its functions becoming a part of those of the new Line, which will perform all duties above and below the protective deck. It is worthy of note that this proposition originated, not with the Engineers, but with a Line officer, Captain Robley D. Evans, U. S. N., to whom is due the credit of suggesting this radical change in naval organization.

Colonel Roosevelt has put, briefly and strongly, the reasoning which has led to the proposed amalgamation. In his report upon the bill he says:

> "On the fighting ship the fighting man must stand supreme; only he must know how to handle his tools, and must change as the ship changes, so that precisely as he once knew about sails, now he must know about engines. . . . A change like that which took place two hundred years ago must take place now. As then the sailor man who knew only how to handle a ship had to be merged in the trained officer, while the sea soldier who had once commanded his troops either ashore or afloat became also a sailor man, so now the line officer and the engineer must become one. . . . In short, it is absolutely essential that the best naval officer of the future shall be proficient in engineering. The fact that Farragut knew nothing of engines has no more bearing on the case than the fact that Blake knew nothing of sails. Exactly as Nelson, who succeeded Blake, had to know details of naval matters of which Blake was ignorant, so the Farragut of the future must know what the great victor of New Orleans and Mobile Bay had no chance to learn."

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The Line officer of our day is, in his knowledge and present functions, the representative of a career of absorption of various professions, extending through centuries on the sea. Originally, he was but a soldier afloat, a hand-to-hand fighter, who served indiscriminately on sea or land. Macaulay says:

"At Flodden, the right wing of the victorious army was led by the Admiral of England. At Jarnac and Moncontour, the Huguenot ranks were marshalled by the Admiral of France. Neither John of Austria, the conqueror of Lepanto, nor Lord Howard of Effingham, to whose direction the marine of England was confided when the Spanish invaders were approaching our shores, had received the education of a sailor. Raleigh, highly celebrated as a naval commander, had served during many years as a soldier in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Blake had distinguished himself by his skilful and valiant defence of an inland town, before he humbled the pride of Holland and of Castile on the ocean."

The pre-eminence of the soldier on the sea in the early part of the sixteenth century is shown by the complement of the "Great Harry," which, in 1512, was: Soldiers, 349; sailors, 301; gunners, 50. As time passed on the influence of the sailor gradually rose and his force increased. Thus, in 1558, we find on the "Victory" but 100 soldiers, with 268 sailors and 32 gunners. The master, or navigating officer, however, remained still a subordinate, and the Line, or combatant officer, was still untrained in the handling of his ship. Such conditions were essentially unstable and bred incessant strife within the *personnel*. Admiral Sir William Monson, writing early in the seventeenth century, says:

"The seamen are much discouraged, of late times, by preferring of young, needy, and inexperienced gentlemen captains over them in their own ships; as also by placing lieutenants above the masters in the king's ships."

Again he notes that "the master repines to have a lieutenant above him"—a feeling which seems not unnatural, since the master, as navigating officer, bore the responsibility, while the unskilled captain had the rank and authority. Indeed, as late as 1650, the regulations then in force permitted the captain to lay the blame for the loss of his ship on the master's shoulders.

These unsatisfactory conditions lingered long in the British Navy, both with regard to navigation and to gunnery, which was becoming a science also, although the Line officer was a sailor long before he was either navigator or gunner. Thus, Commander Robinson, R. N., commenting in his work, "The British Fleet," on the times of Queen Anne, says:

"The master and his mates were the sole navigating officers, and up to

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quite the end of the war (1815), it was held no disgrace to an executive (line) officer, providing he was a good sailor man, to be neither navigator nor gunner."

Turning to our own navy, we find the tradition, at least, of these conditions lingering in the grade of "sailing master," which existed for many years; and, as to gunnery, Secretary Welles stated, in his report for 1864, that, when it "became a specialty, it was inconsiderately and unwisely proposed to have a corps of ordnance officers engrafted upon the naval service."

In commenting upon the evolution of the Line officer of our day, Captain Mahan says:

"The command of fleets and of single vessels was often given to soldiers, to military men, unaccustomed to the sea and ignorant how to handle the ship, that duty being entrusted to another class of officers. Looking closely into the facts, it is seen that this made a clean division between the direction of the fighting and of the motive power of the ship. This is the essence of the matter, and the principle is the same whatever the motive power may be. The inconvenience and inefficiency of such a system were obvious then, as they are now, and the logic of facts gradually threw the two functions into the hands of one corps of officers."

History shows, then, that the modern Line officer was, in his origin, a soldier simply; that, by successive absorptions, he added to his primary military functions those of the sailor, the navigator, and the artillerist. The advent of the Engineer and the omnipresence of machinery in the warship, have again made "a clean division between the direction of the fighting and of the motive power." If the teaching of history be followed, it seems certain that Captain Mahan's "logic of facts" will again throw the two functions into the hands of one corps—that the process of absorption will be continued to include the Engineer.

The amalgamation of the Line and Engineering branches, either wholly or in part, is by no means a new proposition. There have been, in the past, farsighted men on both sides of the sea, students of naval history and familiar with a navy's needs, who have advanced it with regard to modern fleets. In his report for 1863, Gideon Welles, then Secretary of the Navy, said:

"It is a question, indeed, as sails are subordinate to steam, whether every officer of the line ought not to be educated to, and capable of performing, the duties which devolve upon engineers."

And, in 1864, we find him repeating and emphasizing these words thus:

"It is respectfully submitted, in view of the radical changes which have been wrought by steam as a motive power for naval vessels, whether steam

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engineering should not be made to constitute hereafter a necessary part of the education of all midshipmen, so that, in our future navy, every line officer shall be a steam engineer. . . . Seamanship and steam engine driving will each be necessary to make the finished professional officer. Objection may be made that the duties are dissimilar and that steam engine driving is a specialty, The duties are not more dissimilar than seamanship and gunnery."

In the years 1875-6, a committee was appointed in Great Britain, under the presidency of the late Admiral A. C. Key, R. N., to inquire into the methods of training Engineer officers for the Royal Navy. One of the recommendations of this committee was as follows:

"The Engineer branch of the navy is, at present, classed with the civil branch of the service, as distinguished from the Military or Executive branch. This distinction appears no longer necessary. The chief engineer has a large body of men under his immediate orders, many of whom are quartered at guns, and have to take an active part in action. His duties are, in many respects, executive. . . . We are, therefore, of opinion that Engineer officers should in future be classed with the Military or Executive branch of the profession, among those who would not on any occasion succeed to command."

The late Admiral C. Fellows, R. N., testified before the committee thus:

"I would suggest that the engineers should be placed on a totally different footing from that on which they now stand—that is, that the Chief Engineer and his senior assistants should be considered executive officers—*i. e.*, placed in the military branch. Men-of-war are now floating machines and are, more or less, under the direction of the Chief Engineer, and, in my opinion, he should have the power of giving an order to any man in the ship without the possibility of that man disobeying the order, or even questioning it."

The amalgamation of the Line and Engineering branches presents few difficulties in the United States Navy—perhaps fewer than in any other—because of the similar training received by the younger officers of both corps. For thirty years, Engineer officers have been graduated from the Naval Academy, and a majority of this corps is now composed of men who, for three years, at this school, received precisely the same education as their brothers of the Line, with, in addition, a special course in engineering during the fourth and final year.

As to our Line officers, it may be said that, under the present system, in passing for promotion, they undergo an elementary examination in engineering; that a part of their daily duty is the handling—although not the care and repair—of dynamos, turret machinery, ammunition hoists, etc., of all types; and that they

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design and build all great guns for the Navy, which, in itself, is strictly engineering work. Natural inclination and this favorable environment have made many officers of the Line competent in one or more branches of engineering.

While the proposed plan, like all things earthly, falls short of perfection, it is believed, in view of these facts, that it presents still a working solution of the intricate problem which confronts our naval *personnel*. It involves no violent changes. The elder Line officers, unaccustomed to the handling of steam machinery, will continue to perform familiar duties; the elder Engineer officers, although given military rank and title, will supervise still the work of the engine and fire-rooms and engineering construction and repair on shore. For a year or two, even the duties of the younger men will be but little altered. Then, by degrees, the young Line officer of the present system will be required to stand watch in the engine room, and the young Engineer officers of to-day will familiarize themselves with the duties of the battery and the deck. Meanwhile, the Naval Academy, with a curriculum much extended in engineering, will be graduating officers trained for all duties above and below—fighting engineers in fact, if not in name. If it be urged that the performance, with success, of these composite duties will demand a very high order of capacity, the answer is that this demand has existed since ships-of-war were first floated, and that there seems no reason to fear that this advance will meet less success than each preceding one has found.

The proposed amalgamation promises to be far-reaching in its beneficial results upon the Line and Engineering *personnel* of the United States Navy. With these branches united, harmony will replace the long-standing discord, which was as inevitable as it was regrettable. There should be, further, a marked increase in the efficiency of the ship, considered as a fighting machine purely. Instead of two distinct corps of officers, one devoted solely to the direction of the battery and the other solely to the management of the motive power, there will be one homogeneous body, all of whose members will be fitted to take their place in the fighting line, if there be need. This will give, also, a much greater elasticity to the system, since, eventually, every officer will be available for every duty, above and below. A further benefit of importance will be the simplification of discipline, and its full maintenance, without friction, in all departments. At present there is, unavoid-

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ably, more or less clashing between the corps, in this matter, especially so, since the officer of the Line has military rank and the Engineer has relative rank only. In the full development of the system, we shall have an officer whose engineering knowledge will make him fully fitted to command his ship, as a whole and in every part; and, in the engine room, we shall have another who, untrammeled, shall be able to preserve the maximum efficiency of the machinery, at sea and in port, and whose military rank will give him unquestionable authority with regard to the discipline of his force.

It is by reason of wars that navies exist, and a navy's right of being rests only in its ability to bear itself bravely and ably in conflict on the sea. To the development of its strength for this, all efforts in peace should turn. The teaching of history has, time and again, shown that, of the factors of naval strength, there is none so vital as the *personnel.* Ships, armor, ordnance, may be without superiors, but, if the man behind the gun or the man before the furnace-fire fails in battle, the flag must be lowered in defeat. Therefore, we should consider well the *personnel.* If it be not effective, all other effort to build up the fleet will be as nothing in the end. Spain, in the most crushing defeats of all naval history, has met the disaster which surely follows an obsolete and neglected *personnel.* Her "Invincible Armada" put to sea at a time when the sailor was a vital element of navies; but, lingering in the past, she still kept the soldier paramount in her fleets. In writing of the Armada's fate, Professor Laughton, an eminent authority, says:

> **"Even if the men had been equal in quality, the Spanish ships were terribly undermanned. The seamen habitually gave place to the soldiers and soldiers commanded; the seamen did the drudgery and not one was borne in excess of what their soldier masters thought necessary. The absolute numbers speak for themselves and one comparison will be sufficient. The 'San Martin,' of 1,000 tons, the flagship of the Duke of Medina, had 177 seamen and 300 soldiers. The 'Ark,' of 800 tons, the flagship of Lord Howard, appears to have had something like 300 seamen and 125 soldiers."**

Three centuries have passed and the shattered Spanish ships which line the Cuban coast and lie in Manila Bay tell the same story. In an age when a gun is but a powder engine, and that speed which is a primary requisite in naval war is obtained only by complicated mechanism, Spain has failed to recognize the engineer and her navy has no organized corps of these officers. In place of

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men of education, training, and adequate rank, whose fitness was commensurate with the toil and skill required to care properly for naval machinery in war, the belated authorities of that country have contented themselves with foreign engineers—practically but machinists—who cared nothing for the Spanish flag, whose reward lay neither in rank, position, nor patriotism, but in the hired man's wages only.

The penalty of this national folly has been almost unprecedented national disaster, if not dishonor, on the sea. Before Cervera's fleet sailed from Ferrol, many of the imported engineers had left; at the Canaries, the remainder departed; and from that time onward, under incapable Spanish care, the deterioration of his ships progressed so rapidly that they reached Santiago de Cuba practically unfit for battle. That they were supposed to be faster than the American vessels was the only argument for the Spanish Admiral's final *sortie* in open day; but, in that race of death, his wretched *personnel* failed him; the original speed of his ships—which might have saved them—could not be developed; and their engine and fire rooms became scenes of demoralization and despair. A writer in the "*Revista General de Marina,*" of Madrid, shows some appreciation of this, when he says: "The Americans are making constant voyages in all seas with their vessels, so that they have a trained *personnel,* for their machinery. We have the greatest scarcity of machinists and hardly any firemen at all." Again, he says: "In order to have a squadron, it is indispensable to have a trained *personnel,* navigating constantly and taking many exercises. If this is not done, there can be neither machinists, nor firemen, nor gunners." Admiral Montojo, in reporting on his fleet's annihilation at Manila, adds further testimony, when he gives, as one cause of it, "the inaptitude of some of the provisional machinists," on whom he had to rely in battle. Even these writers seem not yet to have learned that something more than the "machinist" is needed for the care, and conduct in action, of the modern battleship with its huge enginery; that, in this age of mechanism, only the educated and trained officer will suffice; that the *personnel,* the vital factor of naval war, must change with the changes of the ship.

While amalgamation is the most radical and far-reaching feature of the Personnel Bill, the measure embraces other matters of grave importance to the effectiveness of our fleet, one of which is

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the method of selection suggested to insure a proper flow of promotion. In this review, I have desired to limit myself to the question of amalgamation as it affects the Engineer Corps, leaving to others the discussion of the proposed plans for promotion. I will say, however, that the method of selection which is proposed, has my strong approval in this, that it selects certain officers to be retired and not certain officers to be advanced. The key-note of this policy is that an ambitious officer can use his personal and political influence only in preventing his enforced retirement and not in securing his advancement. The provisions which replace relative with actual rank, and which extend the privileges of retirement with the rank and pay of the next higher grade to staff officers who served creditably during the Civil War, will favor all corps equally and commend themselves to fair-minded men. The bill proposes also to substitute for the present naval pay, the pay-table of the army. Owing to the fact that legislation on the question of naval pay has been enacted for different corps at different periods, it presents many incongruities. Some comprehensive system is required. The army pay-table is such a measure and has been in force for many years with satisfaction to all of its corps. The proposition, therefore, to substitute it for the naval pay seems a wise one, and one which will avoid experiment. It is true that the pay of naval officers will be, thereby, somewhat increased ; but there seems no reason why officers of equal rank in the army and navy should not receive the same compensation ; and, in any event, the expenses of naval officers, owing to their wandering life, measurably exceed those of their army brethren.

The provision of this bill which increases the number of officers of the Marine Corps, but complies with manifest justice. That corps has a full brigade of 3,000 men, and yet its commanding officer has but the rank of a Colonel. Again, its proportion of Line officers is abnormally low as compared with the army, although its needs are much greater, since its force is divided into many small guards on ship and shore, while that of the army is stationed in fewer and much larger detachments of troops.

The Personnel Bill is not a hasty measure; it is, in effect, the outgrowth of years of consideration of this vexed question. The Board which prepared it was composed of officers, a majority of whom had grown old in the nation's service, and who will, in a

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few years, pass from active duty. It has been transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Navy with his strong approval, and will meet the support of practically the whole official body of the Navy. In the war which has just ended with such unparalleled swiftness of success, the Navy has not only maintained the best traditions of its past, but has done much to give the nation new territory and a new glory beyond the sea. In this, all of its corps have joined with singleness of aim. Our Line officers on Manila Bay, off Santiago, and in the weary waiting of the blockade, have shown, in their vigilance, daring, and superb gunnery, that the spirit of our early naval heroes animates them still. Our Engineers, in the constant preparedness of their machinery, its instant answer to every call, in the memorable cruise of the "Oregon," and the magnificent bursts of speed off Santiago, have won the distinction which the tireless training of years had presaged. Our Marine Corps has, in the words of the Secretary of the Navy, but "added new glory to its already gallant record," not only in its service afloat, but in being the first force to land on Cuban soil, in its heroic bearing there under most adverse conditions, and, not the least, in the watchful care of its troops ashore, which made their sick list less, proportionately, than that of the fleet. The medical officers of our Navy in the ambulance ship "Solace," in their complete preparedness for every emergency, and in the low percentage of the ill afloat, despite a most trying service in a tropical climate, have made a record which no nation has yet equalled and which cannot be surpassed. And, lastly, the multitudinous labors of the Pay Corps in furnishing supplies for large squadrons, widely scattered, have been attended with such success as to have left no want unfilled. This is the *personnel* which now, with duty fitly done, turns to the Congress for relief. It cannot be otherwise than that the nation, through its representatives, will enact into law a measure which will so strengthen and unify the officers of this gallant service.

GEORGE W. MELVILLE.

V. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE PEOPLE.

THE American people are justly proud of the American Navy. In our recent war with Spain every branch and corps of the naval service distinguished itself with conspicuous honor. While only a few names have been added to "the scroll of eternal fame," yet,

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nevertheless, the American people know that there is not a man in the American Navy who would not have merited this distinction had the opportunity presented itself. Too much credit cannot be given to the chiefs of the great bureaus in our Navy Department and their assistants, who were the "organizers of victory," and who, by providing and thoroughly equipping the vessels of the fleet in every department, enabled the men in the actual line of battle to win the brilliant victories in which the nation glories. This war has proved that we have been constructing our ships upon correct ideas, and that, ship for ship, our Navy is as good as any other navy in the world. The American Navy, from the humblest coal-passer in the hold to its greatest admiral on the bridge, has won the everlasting gratitude of an appreciative people in making a record which will shine as gloriously as that of any period in our naval history. This is the position of the American people towards the American Navy.

To have a Navy, we must not only have ships, but also men. We must legislate not only for the *matériel* but also for the *personnel*; and, while we seek to have the best ships made by our most skillful American ship-builders upon the most improved ideas of our best naval authorities, we should at the same time study well the important question of the *personnel* of our Navy, so that it may in all respects fit the *matériel*. The American people want such an organization of the *personnel* of the Navy as will produce the best naval officers.

The so-called Naval Personnel Bill is a measure which represents the best thought of the best minds of our naval service. The greater portion of it was prepared by a Board of naval officers, of which the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was Chairman. That Board consisted of two Chiefs of Bureaus who stand eminently high in our naval service, six prominent officers of th line, and three engineers of splendid attainments. This measure was introduced, at the request of the Department, in the House, and referred by the Speaker to the Committee on Naval Affairs, where it was subsequently re-referred to the sub-committee on Organization, Rank and Pay. This Committee held exhaustive hearings upon the measure, and finally reported it to the House in substantially the same form in which it was originally introduced, adding to it some desirable changes in other branches of the naval service.

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The distinguishing feature of the bill is the amalgamation of the Line and the Engineer Corps. At first glance, this might appear to be a most radical proposition, and yet, when carefully considered, it will be found that, in consequence of the mighty evolution which has been made in the construction of our ships during the last generation, by which steam has not only become the motive power of our ships of war, but is now actuating the machinery by which ammunition is hoisted, guns trained, turrets turned and torpedoes ejected—and it might be said that everything is done by machinery on board a ship, whereas a generation ago everything was done by hand—the necessity becomes apparent that the man who is to thoroughly command the ship must understand engineering and the powerful mechanism which is to move at his will.

The proposed Personnel Bill recognizes the necessity which is obvious to-day, and which will grow more so in the future, that the naval officer should be an engineer, as well as be proficient in ordnance and in navigation and in the other duties incidental to command. When one realizes that from a fourth to a half of the crew of our ships is in the engineering department, one appreciates how important it is that the commanding officer should widen his curriculum of study, and understand the tools and the machines, and the power which runs them and runs the ship, so as to make himself indeed an officer worthy to command. One of our prominent Captains in the Navy said substantially, not long ago, that, if he had any timidity and fear when in command of a great battleship, it arose from his ignorance as to what might occur in the engine room when he had given his signal from above.

The practical application of this scheme of amalgamation is already in force in the Navy to a limited extent. The younger line officers are now taking charge of the engines on the torpedo boats. They have some engineering education, but not so much as they will have under the new order of things. The curriculum at Annapolis will have to be changed, so as to give all the students a more thorough course in engineering. Through this plan, the American naval officer of the future will be a man who will thoroughly know his ship from stem to stern, and if there is any position where the old adage is true, that "knowledge is power," it will be in the case of the captain of one of our battleships when he knows that every man under his command is doing his full duty.

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Another important feature of this bill is the provision it makes for a properly regulated flow of promotion, so that a man will not have to spend twenty years or more in one grade, as is the case with a large number of officers in the naval service to-day, before reaching a higher grade. It is a disgrace to the American Navy that we have a system which keeps men who are fifty years of age and more in the grade of Lieutenant, when in any other navy in the world they would at least have reached the rank of Commander. Admiral Farragut once well said: "I consider it a great advantage to command young, having observed as a general rule that persons who come into authority late in life shrink from responsibility, and even break down under its weight." All our best naval authorities are united upon the proposition that thirty-five years of age is much nearer the proper age of command than fifty-five, which is about the average age to-day of those in command of our ships. This bill would make the average age of command about forty-five.

There is no good reason why there should be any difference between the pay of the Navy and the pay of the Army. One service is as important as the other, and both should be paid alike. Under the present organization, however, our military officers, rank for rank, receive somewhat greater compensation than that allowed the officers of the Navy, a discrimination which is corrected by a section of this bill. In this connection it might also be said that the provision of our laws permitting the allowance of prize money to our naval officers in time of war should be repealed, as it is entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the age and of modern naval warfare, and remains simply and purely a relic of barbarism.

There are other details in connection with the bill, such as, for instance, giving the staff officers proper rank, that is to say, making their rank actual instead of relative, the same as it is in the Army; the elimination of the two years' course at sea for naval cadets, by which we will increase our number of officers, a step much needed in consequence of the increase in the number of ships; the establishment of a new grade of commissioned officers below that of ensign, which will be opened to enlisted men who have served honorably and faithfully; and lastly, the reorganization of the construction department and the Marine Corps, which has been greatly desired for some time. But these features of the

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bill are more readily understood, and as there has been little, if any, objection to them, I will not discuss them in this article.

What the Navy needs, the people are desirous that it should have. I believe that they are confident that our naval authorities will ask nothing of Congress which would not improve the efficiency of the naval service. The American people have faith in the American Navy and in the high efficiency of the Navy Department. The matchless record which the Navy has made entitles it to every consideration, and there is no better way in which the American Congress can show its appreciation of the splendid deeds of the American Navy than by speedily enacting into law a measure which has the approval of the united naval service, the much discussed, and long needed, Naval Personnel Bill.

GEORGE EDMUND FOSS.

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THE SCIENTIFIC PREVENTION OF YELLOW FEVER.

BY ALVAH H. DOTY, M.D., HEALTH OFFICER OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

THE appearance of yellow fever among the United States troops in Cuba during the past summer and the recent outbreak in the South, combined with the published investigations of Prof. Sanarelli and others as to the specific micro-organism of yellow fever, have again brought this disease prominently before the public. The increased importance of the subject will doubtless be an incentive to Congress to renew the discussion begun at the last session in regard to the establishment of a national department of health. The consideration, on the part of Congress and the people of the South, of the subject of yellow fever and of the methods required for its suppression, has extended over a long period; and that the public is patient and long suffering is evident from the tolerance which has been shown toward this continued discussion. For years, more or less friction has existed between the health authorities of Southern towns, cities and States, and between the authorities of these States and the Federal Government, and to a certain extent these differences still continue. Therefore, the appearance of a case of yellow fever in one of the Southern States is not always the signal for combined and harmonious action to prevent the extension of the disease.

Competent and conscientious Southern health officials are frequently unjustly censured at these times, and there is often a public clamor for some change in the management of the outbreak; this at least indicates a lack of confidence on the part of the people. The disastrous effect on commerce and on travel of the quarantine measures which immediately follow an outbreak of

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the disease, and which range from the primitive "shot-gun" quarantine, to the proper measures enforced by duly authorized health officials, is only too well known. The periods during which the outbreaks occur are usually prolific in the creation of bills, the destination of which is Congress. It is firmly believed by the supporters of these measures that they have at last found a remedy for the evil; but the fact that almost all of them differ materially in their provisions, is a sufficient proof that those who present them are not of one mind as to the proper procedures in preventing the introduction or extension of yellow fever.

A careful investigation shows that quarantine, as a means of controlling the outbreaks referred to, has not been as successful as we could wish, although carried out in a most rigid manner, varying somewhat in form, however, in the different States and municipalities. To those who have depended upon quarantine alone, the outlook is not particularly hopeful. Therefore, we are stimulated to look for some other means of securing the desired result.

In order to study this subject intelligently we must be familiar with the cause of the disease and the manner in which it is propagated. We know that yellow fever is due to a specific germ, which multiplies in the human system and produces the characteristic symptoms of the disease; that this micro-organism may infect a town or circumscribed area, provided certain climatic and local conditions are present, and that those exposed to the infected locality are liable to contract the disease. Yellow fever is not contagious in the strict sense; that is, it is not communicated from persons to persons, as is smallpox or scarlet fever. Those outside of an infected locality do not contract the disease, even when brought into close and prolonged contact with persons suffering from it. Therefore, outside of the infected locality or zone (that is, those regions which furnish the climatic conditions necessary for its propagation) the disease is harmless. In corroboration of this, I cite the following resolution, passed by a most notable assemblage of sanitarians, the Third National and Sanitary Convention, held in New York, in 1859:

"Resolved, That in the absence of any evidence establishing the conclusion that yellow fever has ever been conveyed by one person to another, it is the opinion of this convention that the personal quarantine of cases may be safely abolished, provided fomites of every kind be rigidly restricted."

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In order that the specific micro-organism of this disease shall thrive outside of the human body, certain climatic and local conditions are essential.

The climatic conditions are not all clearly defined. It is known, however, that there must be a long continued high temperature, with more or less moisture and a low country. Yellow fever rarely extends above an altitude of 1,000 feet. Although there may be some doubt as to what are the climatic conditions necessary to propagate the disease, there is no difference of opinion as to what are the local requirements. I refer to filth and defective drainage. There is no city in the world to-day where yellow fever is epidemic which does not afford substantial proof of this fact. The same conditions, perhaps to a less extent, are found to exist in those sections where yellow fever occasionally prevails. The specific organism of yellow fever, like that of the bubonic plague, is nourished and kept alive by decomposing organic matter. If supplied with plenty of food in the shape of filth, the germ of yellow fever will thrive in spite of quarantine. If starved by cleanliness, its development is stopped. Dr. Parke, the eminent English sanitarian, speaks of yellow fever as being often singularly localized, and he refers to repeated outbreaks occurring in barracks at Bermuda, Trinidad, Barbadoes and Jamaica, while no other places on these islands were affected. In the same way, at Lisbon, Cadiz, and many other cities, it has attacked only one section of a town. Dr. Hardie, an American physician, writing in the early part of this century, says: "Yellow fever is not contagious in pure air." La Roche, in his classical work on yellow fever, strongly asserts the non-contagiousness, as well as the locally infectious character, of this disease. Dr. Reynolds, in concluding an article on this subject, says: "A survey of the whole history of the disease leaves it still to be concluded that, at the most, contagion is to be admitted as a merely possible supposition, extremely hard even for its advocates to trace with certainty in any definite instance, while the geographical relation of the disease and its promotion by local unsanitary conditions are palpable and overwhelmingly important." Were it necessary, I might add similar testimony from others who have carefully studied this subject from a practical standpoint, to prove the power of filth as a factor in the propagation of yellow fever. The importance of this fact has not been properly considered in the delib-

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eration of bodies brought together to formulate rules and regulations for the protection of the South against the invasion of this disease.

We know that yellow fever under certain aggravated conditions may extend in a territory outside of the yellow fever belt. The conditions referred to consist of bad drainage and filth, whereas the disease rarely affects the out-of-town territory where pure air exists, even within the yellow fever zone. On this point Dr. George M. Sternberg, Surgeon General of the United States Army, speaks emphatically as follows:

> "When yellow fever prevails as an epidemic, physicians and nurses are apt to contract the disease, because they are necessarily exposed in the infected localities, not because they come in contact with the sick. . . . During the season favorable for the epidemic prevalence of the disease, its propagation without doubt depends largely upon local insanitary conditions, and it is doubtful whether it could effect a lodgment in a clean and well paved city. . . . In Havana, Rio de Janeiro and other endemic *foci* of the disease, it is especially prevalent in low lying, filthy districts with unpaved streets."

My personal observations in Havana and Vera Cruz fully confirm what Dr. Sternberg says. In the report of Dr. Hardie describing the outbreak of yellow fever in New York between 1798 and 1805, he clearly and unmistakably shows that the disease was confined to a locality about Front street and Coenties and New Slips, which was at that time notorious for its filthy and unsanitary condition, and that, after this section had been properly drained and placed in good sanitary condition, the disease entirely disappeared. With this mass of evidence before us based on experience, we must regard filth and bad sanitation as the local conditions which favor the propagation of yellow fever. A realization of this is being shown in countries where yellow fever is endemic, and among people who are not so far advanced in sanitary science as we are. I will refer, for example, to Santos, a seacoast town of Brazil. Until recent years, the mortality from yellow fever in that place has been very large, the drainage primitive and defective, and the sanitary condition particularly bad. Mainly through the enterprise of engineers from this country, a new system of sewerage has been recently introduced which has resulted in a marked reduction in the number of cases of yellow fever. The cause of this is fully apparent to the inhabitants of the town, who now co-operate with the health officials in

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enforcing the sanitary regulations which are necessary for the protection of the public health. Memphis in our own country has had a bitter experience, and now knows full well the value of good drainage and cleanliness.

With a keen appreciation of what has just been stated, it does not seem reasonable that quarantine alone can be depended upon to prevent the introduction or extension of yellow fever. Quarantine has important functions. Its value, however, is greatest at the seacoast, or ports of entry. An infected ship may be kept under close observation, and the infection destroyed by disinfection, but a land quarantine can always be evaded. It should not surprise us, therefore, or reflect unpleasantly upon a health official, if an outbreak of yellow fever in the South is followed by an extension of the disease to other points where the local conditions are favorable to it.

New Orleans and other Southern cities, which are frequently visited by yellow fever, are not, strictly speaking, in a good sanitary condition. The lowness of the land upon which New Orleans is built, in its relation to the Mississippi, makes the ordinary modern sewerage system impossible, inasmuch as the proper fall cannot be secured for the main sewers, which, under ordinary circumstances, discharge into an adjoining waterway. The streets in this and other Southern cities, or at least some parts of them, are imperfectly paved and graded, and are not properly sewer connected. The health officials of these towns realize that these conditions are a menace to the public health, and in many instances have been industrious in their efforts to obtain appropriations large enough to secure proper sanitary conditions. The results, however, have been discouraging, inasmuch as funds sufficient for the purpose cannot be obtained. It is apparent, therefore, that the Southern people do not yet fully appreciate the imperative necessity of having the best and most modern sanitary appliances, good drainage and clean streets. If the agitation in the South, which is always present during an outbreak of yellow fever, could be turned in this direction, I have no doubt as to the good results which would follow. The lay members of a community are not expected to make a study of this or any other disease, and it is necessary that they should be made acquainted with the important facts bearing upon the subject.

I feel certain that, if the streets of the Southern cities within

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the yellow fever zone were to be properly paved, or made smooth, graded and well cleaned and drained, if new and improved sewerage systems were introduced and every precaution taken to insure strict cleanliness, that yellow fever would practically make no headway, and the terror which the appearance of a case of this disease now inspires would be a thing of the past. To the public it would be educational, inasmuch as it would require individual co-operation to keep the different towns in a good sanitary condition. Opposition on the part of the public or press toward any health ordinance makes its enforcement extremely difficult.

Assuming that the improvement which I have suggested would involve considerable expense, it would be exceedingly small compared with the loss involved by the destruction of commerce and transportation which always follows the establishment of a rigid inland quarantine in the South. I am satisfied that in no other way will the South ever be freed from the danger, both to life and commerce, which an outbreak of yellow fever now carries with it. I have no desire to belittle the importance of a sensible and thorough quarantine, but it is not a radical measure, and, after its removal, the locality involved is just as susceptible to the disease as ever. I refer more particularly to the quarantine methods which are in force in the interior.

It now remains to consider from what source comes the yellow fever infection, which from time to time is introduced into the South. A careful investigation cannot always decide this question, but, although infection may be brought from South American ports, it is safe to assume that in some way it generally emanates from Cuba. No other place in the world to-day offers such a menace to the public health of this country as the Cuban seaports, notably Havana. The close proximity of that city to the United States, combined with the fact that it is one of the filthiest cities in existence and the home of yellow fever throughout the year, makes it at present a very undesirable neighbor. Here also the remedy is very simple, and, if carried out, would transform into a healthy and beautiful city a sickly town reeking with filth, having badly paved streets and suffering from an entire absence of a modern and effective sewerage system. In Havana may be seen the degradation of sanitary science. I have never met in that city a public health official who seemed to have any conception of what is necessary to insure even a fair sanitary con-

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dition. Any rules and regulations which may have been promulgated from time to time for the ostensible purpose of protecting the public health, have proved worse than useless. The streets in some sections of the city are almost impassable from the filth which covers them, and which rapidly decomposes and furnishes rich nourishment for the germs of yellow fever and every other disease which thrives on the product of uncleanliness. Certain areas in the city are practically cesspools, and the soil and woodwork about the water front and docks could not be more filthy. Thus we have in Havana every requisite in an exaggerated form for the growth of the yellow fever germ and for the extension of the disease. It would seem that now, when the Government of the United States has its hand upon Cuba, the time is propitious for insisting upon radical changes in the sanitary arrangements of Havana and other Cuban towns which are in direct and constant communication with the United States.

The placing of United States sanitary officials at Havana and other Cuban ports, to warn outgoing vessels of the danger which they are leaving and to inform quarantine and health officials at the United States ports of the number of cases of yellow fever which exist in Havana and elsewhere in Cuba, and the issuing of certificates to those who are immune, are undoubtedly valuable provisions. They serve as an aid to quarantine officers in dealing with incoming vessels, but they are entirely superficial, and do not deal directly with the causes which have made Havana and other Cuban ports such a menace to the Southern States, neither will the strictest sanitary regulations which may be imposed upon vessels and persons leaving Havana, or entering the United States, remove the danger. At present, commerce between Cuba and the United States is greatly fettered by sanitary regulations, both upon leaving Cuban ports and again upon reaching our shores. These have become almost unbearable. No permanent improvement in the sanitary condition of Cuba will be apparent until its seaports are subjected to a complete overhauling, and until every vestige of the old and defective sewers of every description, and all the filthy and infected woodwork of the docks along the water front are removed, and new and modern systems of sewerage are substituted. The streets should be paved and graded, in order that the surface water and filth can find an easy exit. All vaults and cesspools, which always constitute a menace to

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the public health, must be cleaned, disinfected and filled up, or properly sewer connected. It is essential that the streets should be flushed with water at frequent intervals, in order that all filth and organic matter may be frequently removed. When this is done and proper sanitary rules and regulations are made and observed, then, and only then, will the Cuban towns cease to be a menace to this country. When the solution of the problem is so very easy, and we have at our command means of placing the South in such a position that it need not again fear such formidable epidemics of yellow fever as have visited it in the past, and with the opportunity of securing the co-operation and confidence of the Southern people instead of their antagonism in matters pertaining to the public health, and when the means are before us of making it not only probable but certain that Havana and other seaport towns of Cuba can be placed in good sanitary condition and the danger from yellow fever reduced to the minimum, it can hardly be understood why the importance of cleanliness and proper drainage has not received the consideration to which it is entitled. This seems the more unintelligible, as writers upon the subject of yellow fever have for the past century followed but one text, viz., filth and bad sanitary conditions are essential to the spread of yellow fever. Yet we disregard this, and seek to find some means of making quarantine—which in some instances has richly earned the appellation of "commerce destroyer"—more rigid and exacting.

Quarantine is necessary and cannot be dispensed with, particularly when used with its most powerful ally, scientific and thorough disinfection; but quarantine should be used as an adjunct to cleanliness and proper sanitary conditions, instead of replacing them. Communities as a rule reluctantly admit that they harbor bad sanitary conditions, and they are slow to make improvements in this direction, even if the money necessary for the purpose is available. It is this reluctance which must be overcome, before success is attained in our effort to prevent the introduction and spread of yellow fever.

It is remarkable how completely the fear of yellow fever has saturated the minds of the people of the United States, especially as our knowledge of the disease does not justify it. As already shown, yellow fever is not contracted by personal contact, and outside of the yellow fever zone is not a menace to the public

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health at any season, provided ordinary sanitary conditions are observed. Cold weather stops the propagation of the disease, either within or without the yellow fever zone, and even within it during the summer months strict sanitary regulations reduce to a minimum the danger.

The fear of yellow fever among the people has almost entirely obscured the danger from diphtheria, tuberculosis and typhoid fever, and other infectious diseases which confront us at all times and during all seasons. The danger from a case of diphtheria in New York at any season of the year is far greater than the danger from a case of yellow fever in the same place; still, persons who would shun a street where a case of yellow fever existed would deliberately enter the apartment of a person suffering from diphtheria. A serious outbreak of typhoid fever creates but little consternation, and the presence in our midst of innumerable cases of tuberculosis, a disease which is responsible for an incredible number of deaths, is looked upon with indifference by the public. This misconception in regard to the danger from this class of diseases often renders the efforts of health officials ineffectual.

For a long time sanitarians and others, who have fully appreciated the importance of taking such action as would bring tuberculosis, typhoid fever, etc., more under the control of health authorities, have endeavored to secure the establishment of a national health bureau or department, which shall not only have general supervision over quarantine matters, but shall also have jurisdiction over sanitary matters in the interior, which is even more important. This feeling has found expression in a bill introduced in the United States Senate last winter by the Hon. John C. Spooner. It is the intent of this bill to establish a department which shall be sufficiently broad in its scope to have general supervision over health matters throughout the United States, both at the coast and in the interior. It is not its aim to obstruct or interfere with local health officials in the proper performance of their duties, but to assist and co-operate with them, and to harmonize their action; and to instruct and thus gain the confidence of the public. No one conversant with the subject can fail to see the value of such a department, and there is reason to believe that during the next session of Congress the bill referred to will again receive serious and proper consideration.

ALVAH H. DOTY.

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STUDIES IN CHEERFULNESS.—I.

BY MAX O'RELL.

In our family life, in France, we preach a delightful philosophy. We preach the gospel, the duty, of cheerfulness.

This is not the sort of gospel which is usually taught in England. Although the Anglo-Saxon people hear it given with apostolic authority that we are to rejoice always and again rejoice, they listen with listless eye and unmoved hearts. They find life very serious and often very sad. "This is a sad world," say all the Anglo-Saxon teachers. And they sigh. Thomas Carlyle scolds the world for trying to be cheerful and happy, and sneers. "The world is made up of fools and rogues," he exclaims, and he was neither a fool nor a rogue. The world has never been improved by scoldings. Josh Billings and Artemus Ward have been greater benefactors of mankind than Thomas Carlyle.

To us French the world is not at all sad. We preach moderation, calmness and toleration, in order that we may be cheerful. "If some of us are doubters," said Ernest Renan, the great apostle of the gospel of cheerfulness, "we urge people who are quite sure of everything to let other people be wrong." We have no particular respect for people who make a fat living by their belief, and we have far more regard for that Christianity which manifests itself by deeds, than for that which spends all its time in expounding theories about the next world and does not help to make this happy and beautiful.

If there is something which is bound to strike the foreigner who pays France a visit, it is the cheerfulness written on the faces of the people. There is, pervading the whole country, an air of contentment and happiness that comes from the satisfaction of aims that are attainable because they are not too high. Most Frenchmen work to secure the comforts of life, material

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and intellectual. When they have attained that object, they knock off work and take life easy. Very few, indeed, run after wealth, practically none do outside of Paris. The race after wealth, with its anxieties and falls, the very attaining of it, with its suppression of any more desires, kills cheerfulness.

Thanks to their artistic temperament, the French are able always to look at the bright side of things and see their beauty. Always childish (and who can be cheerful and happy without being a little childish ?) and of a gay philosophy, they have more than once accepted a *bon mot* as a consolation for a national disaster. They are glad they are alive, and with that feeling the battle of life is won. They despise from the bottom of their hearts the sad man, the narrow-minded, small-hearted, small-souled, small-brained man who sighs and dreads joy and cheerfulness, and wails over the sadness of this "vale of tears." Away, they cry, away with the conscious or unconscious humbug who yells at the top of his voice that he may be called at once to heaven to occupy the "special place" that is being reserved for him, and who would be particularly grieved to see his request complied with at once. Away with the man who is not cheerful, who is not grateful to God that he is allowed to breathe the perfume of flowers, to enjoy the hallowed joy of a pure woman's love, to hear the prattle of children, the sounds of Beethoven's symphonies, to set his eyes on Raphael's pictures, to contemplate the glorious beauty of nature.

The world is full of joy, full of beauty, and we want the great thinkers to make us discover it. We do not want Carlyles to scold us ; we do not want prelates, with incomes of $100,000 a year, to lecture on thrift to poor factory girls sweated on three dollars a week. The masses of the people hear a good deal of the joys that await them in the next world. By and bye, they will want a bit of heaven on this earth. They will ask for it, nay, they will demand it, and, believe me, they will get it.

* * *

We love the society of women under whose influence we live altogether. The Frenchman is brought up by his mother, and, even if he marry, he remains under her influence until she dies. When he marries, his wife leads him, discreetly and diplomatically ; and when he has a daughter, on whom he generally dotes, this young lady very soon joins the other two in ruling the easy-going, good-tempered man. When you see a Frenchman, take it

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for granted that you see a man who has been, who is, or who is going to be, under the government of three generations of women, and he enjoys every one of them. He is master in all the great questions of life, but his conduct, in all the details of every-day life, is on the principle of the *rule of three*. I hope never to see the day when man will be subjected to woman, but I hope never to see the day when he will cease to be under her sweet and wholesome influence.

Outside of the aristocracy and of the wealthiest classes, we have practically no club life. We prefer the mixed company of men and women. We take our women everywhere. Our cafés, for instance, are not saloons forbidden to the respectable people. They are decent, cheerful places where we can sit down with our wives and daughters and enjoy light refreshments in their company. We feel sure that neither their eyes nor their ears will be offended. I am not trying to extol my country and my countrymen, especially extol them at the expense of other nations. If I can say anything positive about myself, I can safely say that I am a perfect cosmopolitan, not only in mind, but in body. I prefer dining in France to dining anywhere else, but I have had meals in Germany and in Arkansas and was not the worse for it. But I say this : We take our pleasures gaily, and no foreigner who visits France could repeat the exclamation of a Frenchman after visiting England : "Life there would be quite tolerable but for its pleasures !"

On Sundays, the masses of the French people throng to hear good music under the trees of our public gardens, or crowd the museums to behold the masterpieces of all the schools of the world. Then they sit and partake of refreshments that never inebriate. Our public resorts are free from swearing, free from drunkards. The masses of the people indulge in their pleasures in a spirit of moderation. They are gay without being riotous. They are truly cheerful.

Of course, Paris is like all the other large cities in the world. It has its black spots, and if you make improper inquiries as to where they are, and you get properly directed, there is a chance for you to find them out. But these places are hidden, and the freedom of our cities is not conferred upon vice, as in America. Our streets are clean, attractive, cheerful.

When I take my ladies to a theatre in Paris, there is nothing

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we like so much as to walk along the boulevard at midnight, after the play, and sit for half an hour in one of the cafés. In New York, after the play, we often liked to walk along Broadway or Fifth Avenue, back to our hotel. Neither in Paris nor in New York did I once regret it. In London (the English must forgive me for saying so, but they know it is the truth), I have to see that the carriage is brought right opposite the door, so that I may quickly push my ladies inside and take them home like criminals, to spare them a minute's sight of the London West End nights.

And, while on the subject, let me say how tired I am of hearing about "the gay Paris" in songs given to the English and American public in their music halls. I once went to one of those "gay Paris" places. I found it fearfully dreary. It was low, but not even wicked, if this word can be used in an artistic sort of way. What was perfectly wanting, was cheerfulness; but the deepest impression I received in that place that night was the enormous amount of English language that I heard. And I interviewed the manager. "Why, my dear sir," he said, "if it was not for the English who come here, we should have to put up our shutters (*nous aurions à fermer boutique*)."

* * *

The more nations I make the acquaintance of, the more deeply confirmed I get in this conviction, that the Frenchman, with all his faults and shortcomings, is the happiest man in the world. Of course, the wealthy classes have everywhere found the way of enjoying life, more or less; but to the observer of national characteristics these classes are uninteresting. Good society is good society everywhere. For a study, give me the masses of the people. And it is among the masses, in France that, after all, I find the greatest amount of happiness. The Frenchman is a cheerful philosopher. He knows best of all how to live and enjoy life. Moderate in all his habits, he partakes of all the good things that nature has placed at his disposal, without ever making a fool of himself. He understands temperance in the true acceptation of the word, which means, not total abstinence, but moderation. When you say that a country has a temperate climate, you do not mean that it has no climate at all; you mean that it has a climate which is neither too hot nor too cold. We have no teetotalers, because we practically have no drunkards. A Frenchman would be as astonished to find that the law prevented him from enjoying a

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glass of wine, because a few imbeciles use wine to get drunk with, as he would to find that the law forbade him to use knives in his quiet and peaceful home, because there are a few lunatics who use knives to commit suicide with or to kill their fellow creatures.

The Frenchman is badly governed; he is a bad politician, and a worse republican; but, if he can envy the public life of most European nations, they, in turn, can envy his private life. The French workingman goes to the theatre and can be heard humming operatic airs; he knows every picture that is to be found in the Louvre Museum; he is an artist, who can impart to his work that artistic feeling which is the result of several generations that have beheld the national works of art and have learned, not only that they are beautiful, but why they are beautiful.

The masses of the French people live well and enjoy luxuries that are unknown to the corresponding classes in England, in spite of their free trade. "Nothing like the poverty exists in Paris," says the Paris correspondent of an English paper, "which exists in London. The Paris workman would despise the humble British bundle of dry bread and meat and tin can of cold tea. No, he enjoys his soup, his *ragoût*, his salad, cheese, half bottle of wine, coffee, cognac and cigarette. That there is poverty, that there is misery, that there is injustice, no one attempts to deny; but the real social evil in France is not material."

His wife is cheerful and intelligent. She does not think that, because she is married, she has nothing more to do to keep alive the interest of her husband. She knows that love is a fragile flower which is revived by a mere sigh, shattered by a mere breath; she knows that love feeds on trifles, lives on illusions, and that the very best dishes may become insipid if served with the same eternal sauce. She feels that, to retain happiness in matrimonial life, it is not a question for her to remain beautiful, it is a question for her to remain interesting. "I have been married twenty years," once a Frenchman said to an Englishman, "and I can't make my wife out yet." "You should not complain of that," replied the Englishman, "I have been married twenty months only. I can make mine out—perfectly."

* * *

The Frenchman will never allow even business to interfere with his happiness. His comfort, and that of his wife and family,

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are his first consideration. Money making is not for him an end, but only the means to an end, comfort and happiness.

And do not tell me that this interferes with the wealth of the French nation, a nation where, out of a population of 37,000,000, you find over 7,000,000 of landed proprietors; a nation where, outside of its capital, you find that seventy-two per cent. of the population own the houses they live in.

The Frenchman is no speculator. His fortune is not very large, but it is steady, stable. And it is stability of fortune and the equalization of wealth all over a country, not the congestion of it in a few privileged pockets, which constitutes real national riches. Let a Frenchman of forty or forty-five, in the provinces at any rate, amass a little fortune of from one to two thousand dollars a year, safely invested, of course, and he will retire and give some one else a chance.

"Look on this picture, and on this."

Some three years ago I was spending a Sunday afternoon in Chicago, in the house, or, I should rather say, in the palace, of a young married man who possessed twenty millions—the poor fellow! He had a beautiful and most interesting wife, and the loveliest little girl of about three or four years of age that I ever saw in my life. That lovely little girl had the good taste to take to me at once. We had a little flirtation together, first in the distance; then she drew towards me nearer and nearer, put her finger in her little mouth and looked me straight in the face. I said "yes." She jumped on my knee and asked me to tell her stories. I started at once. Now, you understand, I was not allowed to stop; but, by and bye, I took breath, and I said to her: "But does not your papa tell you long, long stories on Sundays?" That lovely little round face grew sad and quite long. "Oh, no," she said, "papa is too tired on Sundays." "Too tired to tell you stories," I said; "my poor darling, you don't say so!" A few weeks after I left Chicago, that man was taken ill with a disease, not an uncommon disease in America, that starts from the top of your head and takes from two to three years to kill you in a lunatic asylum among drivelling idiots and imbeciles, and no twenty millions have ever been known to cure it. When, eighteen months later, I was in Chicago again, I made inquiries and heard that the poor fellow was expected to exist a few weeks, or perhaps a few months, longer. Ah! what a pity. I thought that this beautiful

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woman had not enough influence over that good husband to stop him. Don't offer me twenty millions at that price. Put a lovely little girl of three on my knee on Sundays, and I will tell her stories from sunrise and go on till sunset, even if, on that account, I were to be prosecuted by the Lord's Day Observance Society.

Last September twelve months I was returning to England from Brittany *via* St. Mâlo and Southampton. When we got to St. Mâlo we found a delightful beach, and, as the weather was beautiful, we decided to stop a few days before crossing the Channel—the English Channel, as the English call it. (Why "English," I don't know.) I went to the proprietor of the hotel and asked him where I could get a straw hat. He reflected some time over that serious business, and said: "At M. Anfray's, in the High street; it's an old established firm." "Well," I said, "I only want a straw hat, it does not much matter how long the firm has been established." At twenty minutes to one o'clock, I went up the hill and made for the High street and M. Anfray's hat shop. When I got there I tried the door, but found it locked. I shook it and the noise attracted a young, pretty, neatly-dressed, most lady-like little woman, who seemed perfectly astounded to see me and at a loss to understand what it was I wanted at that hour. I felt I was intruding, and, in apologetic tones, I said: "Excuse me, I wanted a straw hat." "That's very awkward," she said, "but we are at dinner." "Please excuse me," I repeated, "I am awfully sorry to disturb you." "Would you mind coming back at two o'clock?" said the little woman with the sweetest of smiles. "Not at all," I said, "I shall be delighted." I had then practically just returned from America. I liked the scene, it was a change after Chicago. At five minutes past two I went back. The door was open, and the same pretty, lady-like little woman was there alone. She rose and came towards me: "That's very awkward," she said, "you promised to come back at two, and my husband waited for you; but you did not come. Now he's gone across the road to the café with a friend." "That's very awkward," I said, "isn't it?" "Would you mind going to the café?" she kindly suggested as a solution of the difficulty. "Not at all," I said, "I shall be delighted." I was beginning to enter into the humor of the whole thing. I went to the café and asked the waiter: "Do you know M. Anfray?" "Yes, sir." "Is he here?" "Yes, sir." "Where is he?" "It's that gentleman over there playing dom-

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inoes." "Thanks," I said, "that's good." I went towards the table that was pointed out to me and, taking my hat off, I said: "Excuse me, sir, have I the pleasure of speaking to M. Anfray?" "*Oui, monsieur.*" "Well, I should very much like to have a straw hat." "Do you mind my finishing this game?" he suggested. "Not at all," I said, "I shall be delighted." I made inquiries at the hotel, and learned that M. Anfray was about forty years old, and enjoyed a little fortune of about 5,000 francs a year. Besides, he had a fairly large custom, and he was not going to change his ways for a new and casual customer. Well, this man may seem a very small man to an American, but I say that this man, who locks the door of his shop from half-past twelve till two o'clock, so as not to be disturbed by customers while he is having his dinner with his wife, and a good time with the children, I say, this man has solved the great problem, the only problem of life, happiness, far better than the American or the London city man who, at one o'clock, will stick at his door: "Gone to dinner; shall be back in five minutes." Five minutes to dinner, just think of it! The greatest event of the day. And what is the result of that *five minutes to dinner* in America? The result is that the whole continent, from New York to San Francisco, from British Columbia to Louisiana, cities, forests, prairies, the whole landscape is spoiled, made an eyesore of, by the advertisements of liver pills.

Be cheerful, spend your life in returning thanks that you are alive. Rejoice, be happy, make as many people happy as you can. Live well, and live long. You will never have another chance.

MAX O'RELL.

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THE LATEST ASPECTS OF THE NICARAGUA CANAL PROJECT.

BY CORRY M. STADDEN.

If history be philosophy teaching by example, the records of the ages show that war excites the latent energies of a nation. It gives loud voice to the necessities of the people and suggests many remarkable methods for meeting them. The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands has been a mooted question for quite half a century, and several abortive efforts have been made to accomplish that result. The prospect of a war with Spain emphasized the necessity of acquiring that important military base for the protection of our Pacific coast without needless loss of time. The call to arms and the participation in actual hostilities precipitated action in Congress, and the annexation problem, which had vexed so many previous administrations, was solved in a miraculously short time. So, too, the cruise of the battleship "Oregon" down the Pacific coast, around Cape Horn and up the Atlantic to Caribbean waters, at a time so fraught with danger for single warships, though ever so powerful, awakened the nation to the full realization of the importance of owning in fee simple an interoceanic waterway across the isthmus, that would permit the largest war vessels to pass back and forth, concentrate against the enemy's fleet, and afford immediate protection to any threatened point on the country's vast coastline. Had the construction of the canal been a matter of days or months, rather than of years, there is small doubt that all obstacles would have been swept away by Congress with the same expedition that marked the annexation of Hawaii, and the money to pay for the work would have been forthcoming from the people with the same promptness and generous impulse that marked the sale of the war bonds.

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The urgent necessity for the maritime canal is to-day apparent to nearly every man, woman and child in the United States. Even foreign powers concede that the construction of the waterway is a question of high public policy. The reasons why the canal should be built are, perhaps, neither more nor less numerous than they were one hundred years ago; but, as the value of anything depends largely upon the need for it, so the existing emergency impressed the public mind with the importance which such an ally as this would have been, had our forefathers had the wisdom and courage to build it. It is not the province of this article to enter upon elaborate argument why either strategically or commercially the trans-isthmian water route is essential to our happiness or well being; yet in passing it may be remarked that a military education is not required to understand that, if one fleet is able to patrol the entire coast of the United States, steaming quickly from one extreme to the other without being obliged to pass around the "Horn," the necessity and the expense of maintaining two fleets is obviated. There are enormous advantages, also, to agricultural and industrial interests, as well as to coastwise trade, in cheap water transportation by this route.

Historically, the proposition to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by a waterway is not new. Columbus was searching for a passage to the far East Indies when he discovered America; and in the sixteenth century the Portuguese, as well as the Spaniards, recognized that with a water route across the isthmus they might compete for trade in the East. Twenty-one concessions have been granted by the governments of Central America for the construction of a canal, and four of these to the United States. The negotiations of this government have covered a period of nearly eighty years, and have been participated in by every President since and including Mr. Monroe. All have favored the construction of an interoceanic communication across the isthmus, to be practically under control of this government, open, however, to the commerce of the world. Numerous elaborate and expensive surveys, with full details of every route proposed, from Mexico to Colombia, have been conducted by the United States to discover the best practicable route. These surveyors, the most competent engineers and officers of the army and navy, have concurred in the opinion that the proposed route, by way of Lake Nicaragua, is the best.

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Though Congress had long felt a friendly interest in the surveys, it was not until near the close of President Arthur's administration that it was thought prudent and necessary to take up the subject in its general aspects. At this time, the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification. This treaty was with Nicaragua ; and the United States, according to its stipulations, had an opportunity to secure control over an area of country twelve miles wide, through which the canal, projected in that instrument, was to be constructed. In return, the United States proposed to pay to the government of Nicaragua $4,000,000. The provisions for the construction, maintenance and protection of the canal under the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty were full and complete. A majority of the Senate favored its ratification, and possibly the necessary two-thirds might have been secured for it ultimately, had President Cleveland not interfered. Opposed to the treaty were a number of Senators who feared that the United States might become involved in an entangling alliance with the government of Nicaragua, which was quite contrary to the policy of our early presidents. Others withheld their votes, believing that this treaty violated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, by the terms of which we solemnly promised to take Great Britain into partnership in building a canal at any future time. This was open repudiation of the previous solemn compact without going through the polite form of declaring it abrogated. The strength of the opposition, on these two grounds, therefore, was sufficient to prevent the ratification of the treaty during the closing days of President Arthur's administration, and Mr. Cleveland, when he became President, promptly withdrew it. He concurred in the opinions of the opposition Senators, and forthwith took occasion to make it clear to Great Britain that his policy should be the reverse of that of his immediate predecessors. Secretaries Blaine and Frelinghuysen regarded the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as not binding upon the United States, so far as it related to the construction of a canal through Nicaragua, although their efforts with Lord Granville to bring about the abrogation of the instrument diplomatically were by no means successful. But if the treaty at that time was not binding upon the United States, President Cleveland's recognition of its validity made it so. While his public policy would brook no treaty with Nicaragua, President

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Cleveland was not averse to the construction, control and ownership of the canal by citizens of the United States.

The failure of the Frelinghuysen-Zavala treaty was a severe disappointment to the friends of the canal project, but it did not discourage them. A company of private citizens, capitalists and promoters, was organized, which at length took the name of the Maritime Canal Company. Fair and full concessions were secured from the government of Nicaragua, while similar articles were also signed with the Republic of Costa Rica on account of imagined ownership of a portion of the territory through which the canal was to pass, though it has been shown subsequently, in the settlement of the boundary dispute between those two governments, that Costa Rica's rights in the matter were solely riparian. In due time Congress was called upon to grant a charter to the Maritime Company, which asked nothing more than this, being then quite confident that it had ample resources to prosecute this important work to a successful finish during the ensuing ten years. Congress may have had a faint suspicion that the company was overburdening itself with responsibilities, and that at some time in the future it might find an occasion to cry out for financial help, so there was inserted in the chartering act an amendment prepared by that famous objector, the late Judge Holman of Indiana, providing that "nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to commit the United States to any pecuniary liability whatever for any account of said company, nor shall the United States be held in any wise liable or responsible in any form or by any implication for any debt or liability in any form which said company may incur, nor as guaranteeing any engagement or contract of said company."

This amendment was submitted to the House of Representatives January 4, 1889, and Judge Holman said in part:

"It is not the necessary corporate power these gentlemen are seeking for; they have that already. It is to obtain at once the moral and ultimately the financial and political resources and power of the United States that these enterprising gentlemen are aiming at—the old story repeated, the power and resources of government employed to enrich the few at the expense of the many. . . . If this enterprise shall be successful under the policy of this bill these enterprising corporators and others will reap a rich harvest and amass wealth; if disaster shall befall it, such as all enterprises of magnitude and all others are exposed to, these corporators of Europe and America and others connected with them will amass fortunes out of the stocks and bonds you authorize this corporation to issue, for when you enter

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upon this work in the manner and form proposed by this bill you cannot escape the inevitable consequences."

Congress ratified these opinions by adopting the Holman amendment—the Senate accepted it without debate—and the Maritime Canal Company eagerly approved the condition imposed, saying that they did not want a dollar from this or any other government; that the initial strength and inceptive favor of the enterprise itself would attract and draw to them all the capital that would be needed for the prosecution of the design.

The incipient distrust of the Maritime Canal Company in the Fiftieth Congress became more pronounced in the succeeding Congress. The Senate, in executive session, on the 11th day of April, 1890, adopted a resolution inquiring, "What are the present conditions and prospects of the enterprise?" and the Committee on Foreign Relations was instructed to consider and report what, in its opinion, the interests of the United States may require in respect of that interoceanic communication. The following January, Senator Sherman, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, presented a report under the resolution and an accompanying bill, which made the first bold proposition to render the canal company financial assistance. The bill, in brief, proposed to violate the terms of the charter—the Holman amendment—and guarantee the bonds of the Maritime Company in the amount of $100,000,000, to reimburse the company the amount expended in promoting the enterprise, and that the United States should accept in return for these favors $70,000,000 of the company's stock. The committee's report explained: "The gentlemen engaged in the enterprise are confident of their ability to execute the work. They did not express a desire for aid, but seemed to have entire confidence of their success. They have already expended, as we are advised, about $4,000,000, and are negotiating contracts and loans." The report concluded: "If it appeared at any time that the interests of the United States are in jeopardy from any cause, it can purchase the majority of the stock and become the controlling owner of the canal by paying its own bonds to an equal amount."

Congress, however, did not guarantee the company's bonds. The company, without such guarantee, was unable to raise the necessary capital, either in the United States or abroad, and the financial crisis of 1893 so overwhelmed it that all active opera-

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tions on the isthmus were suspended, and they have never been resumed. The same issue, the guaranteeing of bonds, has come up from time to time in succeeding Congresses, but not until the second session of the Fifty-fourth did it appear to have much chance of being decided in favor of the company. The opposition in the Senate, where it was first considered, was strong, and the arguments advanced against the bill were clear, sound and forceful. The advocates of the measure were pressing for a vote, but almost at the supreme moment a note was received from the State Department, accompanied by a communication from Minister Rodriguez, the representative of the Greater Republic of Central America, setting forth several unassailable objections of his government to the methods of procedure. This final thrust determined the fate of the bill, and a vote on it was not taken.

From 1891 to 1897 each new bill offered to the House or Senate—sometimes the bills were identical—sought to impress the United States with better terms. The one which was objected to by Minister Rodriguez not only guaranteed the company's bonds to the amount of $100,000,000 and reimbursed it in the sum that it had expended in promoting the enterprise, etc. —$4,500,000—but it reduced the number of directors from fifteen to eleven, providing that one should represent Nicaragua, as stipulated in the concessions, one should represent Costa Rica, for like reasons, one should represent the Maritime Canal Company and the remaining eight should be appointed by the President of the United States. By the terms of the concession, the President of the United States was to appoint four of the number allotted to him from the list of promoters of the Maritime Canal Company. These four, together with the directors representing the company, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, gave the canal interests a representation of seven in the board of directors, leaving but four who might be disinterested appointees of the United States. In other words, the bill was intended to convey the impression at home that the United States would own and control the canal, and abroad that it would be constructed and managed exclusively by the company.

In studying the several propositions that Congress has had to deal with for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, it is important to note the character of the opposition, which obviously has been very strong, since no measure of this description, save the chartering act of 1889, has been passed. The opposition may

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be considered under two general heads, that which is founded upon legal or constitutional grounds, and that which is not, or which may be termed partisan, and due somewhat to prejudice. The last, being of lesser importance, shall be discussed first. The Populists in Congress have not been antagonistic to the idea of canal construction, but their favor depended largely upon the methods proposed. Though they might agree to an appropriation of funds from the Treasury of the United States, the gold reserve, for instance, to the amount of $100,000,000, for the purpose of ditching the isthmus, the doctrine of their party forbade them giving anything but determined, unalterable opposition to any plan based upon an issue or a guarantee of bonds. A vote for bonds, no matter how crying the necessity might be, could give rise to a suspicion that a Populist was controlled by the "Gold Bugs," and to this he never would consent. The trouble resulting from the connection of the United States with the Pacific railroads project, has created a lasting impression upon the minds of millions, not confined to the Populist or any one political party; so it is not surprising if some of the national legislators, who may not be familiar with the questions of law involved, do permit their prejudices to influence their votes on a question involving governmental support of a private corporation.

That opposition to the proposed canal legislation based upon legal or constitutional grounds is so strong and unassailable that it is extremely doubtful if any bill which has not some further treaty negotiations as a condition precedent, can secure enough votes to pass the Senate. The principal objections to the bills which the friends of the canal company have offered during the past eight years were, that they trenched upon the rights of Nicaragua and utterly repudiated in a most contemptuous manner that solemn instrument, signed by Great Britain and the United States in 1850, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The material points of Minister Rodriguez's criticism, which caused the Senate bill in 1897 to be withdrawn, were that some of the vital provisions of the cessions under which the Maritime Canal Company had the right to construct the canal were violated, as follows:

1. This bill takes it for granted that the American government is to furnish the money necessary for the construction of the canal by the Maritime Canal Company and to take an important part in the enterprise. But the concessions granted by

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Nicaragua to the company in 1887 expressly provide that it "shall in no case be transferable to governments or to foreign public powers," and Article 53 provides that any contravention of this stipulation shall entail a forfeiture of contract.

2. Article 47 of the contract provides that the final surveys shall be undertaken at the expense of the company, by a commission of competent engineers, two of whom are to be appointed by the government of Nicaragua. This bill, notwithstanding, provides that the canal shall be constructed under the surveillance of the Department of Engineers of the United States Army, and three engineers shall be designated by the President for that purpose; which provision conduces to the forfeiture of the contract.

3. Article 10 provides that the Board of Directors is to be composed of persons at least one-half of whom shall be chosen from the promoters, who may yet preserve their quality as such. But the bill organizes the Board of Directors with eleven members, eight of whom are to be appointed by the President of the United States.

4. Among the benefits which Nicaragua reserved to herself, in consideration of the valuable privileges and rights which she surrendered, was 6 per cent. of the shares, bonds, certificates or other obligations which were to be issued with a view to raising the capital. Notwithstanding that the company has made several issues, it has not fulfilled this obligation; and nothing is established in this bill with regard to the shares that would belong to Nicaragua, and it might happen that Nicaragua would get none.

5. By the plan involved in the bill, "the present company is extinguished, and nothing remains of it in its relations with the enterprise save the shadow of a personality represented by a vote in a board of directors of eleven members; while in its relations with Nicaragua it may always claim full personality as the holder of the concession, although having none of the means necessary to enable it to meet its obligations."

6. While the bill contravenes and sets at naught stipulations of the contract, it does not state whether the remaining stipulations still remain in force or not.

Some of the ablest gentlemen in the Senate, including Caffery of Louisiana, Turpie of Indiana and Daniel of Virginia, all close students of international law, and two of them members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, have concurred in every

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point raised by Minister Rodriguez, and it was so clear that the bill nullified the concession that it was not pressed to a vote.

The next feature worthy of consideration is the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the abrogation of which was attempted by President Buchanan in 1856, and by Secretaries Blaine and Frelinghuysen in the early eighties, but with little success. Buchanan withdrew from his position when Lord Napier suggested that Great Britain would agree to the abrogation in the event of the United States formally recognizing the *status quo* of 1850, which would be tantamount to a ratification of Great Britain's claims to British Honduras, the Mosquito Coast and the Bay Islands. Blaine and Frelinghuysen labored in vain, with theoretical arguments and historical objections, to convince Lord Granville that the instrument was without validity. Lord Granville refused to be convinced, and furthermore President Cleveland, by promptly recognizing the treaty, on coming into the Presidency in 1885, quite sustained the British contention. To-day some of our most learned international lawyers maintain that the old treaty is valid and binding, at the same time confessing the confident belief that in all probability Great Britain is quite as willing that it should be abrogated in the proper way, relinquishing her right under it to share in the construction, control and protection of a maritime canal through Nicaragua, as we are to have it done. The relations between the United States and Great Britain at the present time are more friendly than ever before, and there is little disposition to give her affront by rudely abrogating the instrument as proposed in the canal bill. Declaring to the people of the United States that the waterway was to be constructed by the government, and to Great Britain that a private corporation, the Maritime Canal Company, assisted only in a financial way by Congress, would control and operate it, would be an evasion that would excite at once the indignation and contempt of all the world. If, in view of our most amicable relations with the mother country, and the fact that the present Secretary of State, the Hon. John Hay, so recently represented his government at the Court of St. James's and did much to promote those friendly feelings, an abrogation of the treaty cannot be arrived at smoothly in diplomatic channels, then let Congress and the administration come out boldly and nullify the instrument, exciting indignation if necessary, but maintaining the respect of the nations.

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In addition to the foregoing objections to the enactment of a bill guaranteeing the bonds of the Maritime Canal Company, Senator Turpie raises a serious doubt as to the lawful authority of Congress to guarantee the note of a citizen of the United States, or of a corporation. He concedes that there is nothing in the Constitution that prohibits Congress from doing this, and at the same time contends that it is not an answer to a constitutional objection to say that the power questioned is not forbidden in the provisions of the instrument. He argues that the Constitution is an instrument of granted powers, and where powers are not granted they do not exist. And, therefore, as this power is not granted, not purposed to be granted, not implied as granted, not by any possible intendment granted, he concludes that in doing so Congress would exceed its Constitutional authority.

As it is the present situation which most concerns us, later aspects present themselves for careful examination. A new administration has come into power. Its policy as to the construction of the trans-isthmian waterway is yet to be disclosed.

Another commission, appointed and instructed to take surveys of the proposed route and make careful investigation as to the practicability and cost of the project, has concluded its work and is about to make its report. Semi-officially it is known that the commission concurs in the opinion expressed by previous commissions, that the canal can be dug along the Nicaraguan route at a cost varying between a minimum of $70,000,000 and a maximum of $150,000,000, establishing conclusively the feasibility and practicability of a ship canal from Brito to Greytown. The time is at hand for the re-assembling of Congress, and for the President to communicate to that body a statement as to the public policy in his annual message. Momentous and interesting events are transpiring in Central America, which in regard to the canal question have paramount importance. A new federation of States has been formed, a new constitution has been adopted and the first election of federal officers under it is about to be held. The effect upon diplomatic relations with the United States should be immediately felt. The concession granted to the Maritime Canal Company in 1887 for a period of ten years, subject to extensions, in which to do the work, has about run its limit. The Central American government is not disposed to renew it, and the canal company is eagerly trying to patch

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a truce with Congress and secure the acceptance of its latest proposition.

On June 20th last, near the close of the recent session of Congress, Senator Morgan, for the Select Committee, reported a new bill, having, like all similar ones heretofore presented, the guaranteeing of $100,000,000 bonds as a fundamental principle. The canal company generously offered to sell out to the government, of course being reimbursed the money already spent in promoting the enterprise. Previously, it had offered the United States eight of the nine directors, not counting those representing Nicaragua and Costa Rica. It went one better, and increased the number to nine; then, to clinch the bargain, further agreed to the provision that "the directors appointed by the President are prohibited from being interested, directly or indirectly, in any contract made by the reorganized company." In addition to all of this, the proposition includes the assent of the Maritime Canal Company to any provision of law that Congress may enact for securing the United States. How the Senate Committee reconciles itself to the point blank violation, by this proposition, of Article 10 of the concession, which sets forth, in clear and unmistakable language, that the "Board of Directors shall be composed of persons, one-half at least, of whom shall be chosen from the promoters, who may yet preserve their quality as such," is not recorded in the report. Precisely the same objections that were raised against a similar bill in the Fifty-fourth Congress can be cited in opposition to this measure. Moreover, the committee's frank declaration that in this bill "private ownership of the stock is completely eliminated," materially strengthens the position of those who contended that this was in direct violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

The only ground, therefore, upon which all concerned may stand in complete harmony, for it must be remembered that the opposition is not against the construction of the canal, but the methods suggested, is that which provides for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, either by diplomatic negotiations or by Congress on a manly appeal from the Executive; and for further diplomatic negotiations between the United States and the government of Central America for a treaty whereby we may have, as Senator Turpie expressed it: "An American canal under American control, meaning thereby a canal built and owned by the

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people and government of the United States, and under the control of the Congress and President of the great republic." This is the consummation devoutly to be wished.

Nicaragua, as it would appear from very recent press dispatches, according to the old saying, is not putting all of her eggs in one basket. In great enterprises the end sometimes justifies the means, and this little state, had she the military strength of the United States or Great Britain, might, without fear or favor, summarily annul the concessions held by the Maritime Canal Company and look elsewhere for capital and labor to construct the waterway. But, as a republic, and later as a state in the new Central American Confederation, she has stood fairly and honorably by her solemn contract with the Maritime Company, which on the 8th of October will expire by limitation. The Managua dispatches set forth that President Zelaya has entered into a new agreement with a company of contractors and capitalists, of New York and Chicago, by which the latter shall become the residuary legatee, as it were, of the Maritime Company, and succeed to the concessions after next October. Though lacking, as yet, official verification, these reports in part may be true. It is reasonable to suppose that Nicaragua, while waiting for the Maritime Company to fulfill its contract or for the United States to undertake the work, is not letting pass a good offer from responsible Americans, to complete the project after all other efforts to do so have failed. Nor does it follow that American interests are permitted, in any way, to suffer, through an understanding between the new corporation and Mr. Zelaya. The United States of Central America, it may be stated without fear of refutation, is desirous that the United States of America shall construct, control and operate the canal. And before a new concession may acquire validity, it must bear the ratification of the Federal Congress. Any contract, agreement or understanding, therefore, between Mr. Zelaya as President of Nicaragua and the company, would have no consideration or weight in law other than that of a recommendation from the state to the Federal Government.

The United States alone is master of the situation. "The way to resume is to resume," said Mr. Sherman on the resumption of specie payments. The way for the United States to build the Nicaragua canal is to cease debating it, get to work and build it.

CORRY M. STADDEN.

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DO NATIONAL BANK EXAMINERS EXAMINE?*

BY THE HON. THOMAS L. JAMES, PRESIDENT OF THE LINCOLN NATIONAL BANK, NEW YORK

IT has sometimes occurred to those who read the newspaper reports of the failure of national banks and the consequent suffering of depositors and stockholders, that there must be some defect, either in the method of bank examination, or in the system itself. Sometimes there comes a sudden revelation of financial dishonesty which has practically cut a bank out of all its resources, impaired its capital, and left nothing for the depositors except trivial assets. Only those who hold the notes of the bank are protected, through the perfect operation of the National Banking Act. The wonder is, how, if a bank examiner does his duty, it is possible for a series of acts, either criminal or careless, or consequent upon bad judgment, to have been continued long enough to destroy an institution which obtains its charter from the Federal Government, and is under its supervision.

It should be remembered, however, that a rule is sometimes, with reference to its efficiency and value, to be determined by the exceptions which are found in its operation; and, even in this superficial view, there is nothing in the entire record of the supervision of national banks, in the thirty-five years since the system was adopted, which does not justify the principle and the methods that have characterized the federal department which has the supervision of the national banking as its responsibility.

The official head, so far as the Government is concerned, of the national banking system of the United States, is the Comptroller of the Currency. While his powers, generally, are limited under the statutes, still they are ample enough to treat such emer-

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gencies as may not be provided for in the statutes. It is for him to say whether the hundreds of millions of deposits placed with the utmost confidence in the national banks are perfectly protected; if not, what measures the Government shall take to give the depositors all that may be obtained for them, and to prevent further losses. In order to do this, the Comptroller of the Currency must have the assistance of a large number of trained, prudent, impartial, clear-headed men. It is upon their reports that he depends for information; it is upon their examinations that he takes such action as the law prescribes, or as, within the discretion which is allowed him, he may deem prudent.

The national bank examiner is generally selected with a view to his experience as a banker; but always his character, his capacity to conduct rigid investigation uninfluenced by friendship or enmity, and to make faithfully accurate reports to his superior at Washington, are essential qualifications. It may be said that, if he has these qualities and thoroughly does his duty, no national bank ought ever to reach such a precarious condition as to justify the interference of the Government.

But, in the first place, it should be remembered that the business of banking goes on from day to day, from week to week and from year to year, and that, in the conduct of that business, the Government places, and ought to place, reliance in the integrity and ability, not only of its managing officers, but of its directors. The officers are engaged in their duties every day. In the banking business, as in every other business, all depends upon faith, confidence and judgment; and, as no human judgment is infallible, it is not to be expected that the opinion, even of the astutest financier, can always be correct with reference to credit, value of property, or the advisability of making loans. At least once a week in the larger cities, and certainly at frequent intervals everywhere, the directors meet. They are required to have accurate information and report from the officers, upon the business done, upon the resources, upon the profits or losses, and to pass judgment upon them. Necessarily, upon this direction the Government must rely for a part of the time; for it would be impossible to keep a national bank examiner busy with daily or even weekly examination, into the condition of one bank.

The examiner, having been appointed, has authority over a certain district. Where the business is large, as in the greater

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cities of the United States, the examiner's jurisdiction usually is confined to a compact district. Where the banking business is widely scattered, his field covers a large territory; but it is the design of the Government, as it was of those who drafted the National Banking Act, that a bank examiner should have no greater territory or number of banks than would make it possible for him to conduct his examinations with the frequency that seems requisite; and the result of the experience of bank examiners is that semi-annual examinations will meet all requirements. So, throughout the country, these investigations into the condition of the national banks are now made twice a year; although, formerly, the banks of the larger cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago, were examined but once each twelvemonth. Congress, adopting the reasonable rule followed by many of the more important corporations of the United States, made it imperative that there should be critical outside inspection of the condition of the banks, at least once in every year. That is the system pursued by many corporations. Some are in the habit of calling in expert accountants or professional auditors, that they may obtain from them an accurate, impartial opinion as to the precise condition of the corporation.

One would think it impossible that anything short of absolute, intentional, deliberate dishonesty could so impair the resources of a national bank, between one examination and another in six months' time, as to render ineffective the system of examination pursued; but the fact that ruinous transactions have found their origin and attained their full growth within the space of a few months—yes, and within a few weeks—demonstrates the practicability of such perversion of a bank's funds. It is well known in banking circles that distress and difficulties come to banks, not wholly as a result of one single transaction—excepting, possibly, in times of panic, when all must stand or fall together—but as the culmination of a long series of mistakes of judgment, of careless acts, of criminal dishonesty, or, what often happens, the unexpected failure of a house or corporation of high credit. Dishonor of that kind is necessarily, in each case, comparatively small; otherwise, unless the entire officers and directors of a bank are engaged in it, it would be instantly discovered.

It is often asked: What are the duties of the bank examiner? But any man of business experience ought to be able to answer

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that question, without referring to the National Banking Act or inquiring of the Comptroller of the Currency. The technical method, however, of carrying out these duties may not be so well understood. The examiner is expected to, and, unless he be a dishonest man, always does, appear at the bank which he purposes to examine, without having made any preliminary announcement of his purpose. The bank is not prepared for him; he catches the officers and employees exactly as they are; there can be no "best dress" put on for the occasion; there can be no "fixing" of books or "temporary loans." Invariably, the president, cashier and other officers find the examiner and his assistants at the bank on their arrival there at the opening of business in the morning; and I may say in passing that it is only in the larger cities, such as those before named, where the banking facilities are large and numerous, that assistants are employed by the bank examiner. The examiner of a district comprising the small cities and towns, does the work unaided. This, of course, is not practicable in a city like New York, for, were the examiner required to conduct the examination without assistance, it would entail the entire suspension of the bank's business, perhaps, for many days.

First of all, the assistant examiners take charge of the paying and receiving tellers' departments and count the cash, the chief examiner himself taking up the loans, securities, etc., in the custody of the cashier, and examining the same. The counting of the cash in the hands of the tellers may be an operation involving long and tedious work; it depends upon the amount of cash and the shape it is in. That is the basis. After the chief completes his examination of the securities in the cashier's keeping, he puts himself in communication with the general bookkeeper, whose department is the vital nerve, so far as the record of the business of the bank is concerned. That is the starting point. There he obtains the report of the loans and discounts. Thus informed, he examines the notes, and the collateral or indorsers. Having verified these securities and their totals and having passed upon the credit behind time paper, he next takes the daily "proof" from the general bookkeeper, examines each item and substantiates it. It is the rule for the examiner to direct his assistants to make an examination of the individual ledgers; in fact, following the system pursued by expert accountants. If the business of the bank has been honestly conducted, and if an expert

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accountant who is a master in concealing dishonest transactions has not manipulated the books, this examination will reveal with absolute accuracy the condition of the bank.

Faith is, after all, the basis of banking; and, if there be no faith, there can be no banking. For that reason, it is possible for those who are skilled in bookkeeping, but who are dishonest, to carry on, sometimes for a series of months or even years, dishonest methods by which even the most expert accountants are deceived, and can be deceived as long as this dishonest man can have access to the books. The recent record of embarrassments or failures has, in almost every instance, made clear, upon examination, that dishonest methods of this kind were carried on by those who had daily access to the books; in one case, for a period covering at least fifteen years. In that case, the dishonest employee, knowing that his safety depended upon his ability to reach the books, refused to take a vacation. If the officers of the bank are unable to detect dishonesty of this kind—even if they adopted the most approved and scientific method of bookkeeping—it is beyond reason to expect that a national bank examiner can do it.

An anecdote may, perhaps, best illustrate this statement. At a time when there had been in one of our largest cities a startling revelation of a long series of dishonest acts committed by one of the most trusted of employees, the president of another bank stated with absolute confidence that he had perfected a system of bookkeeping, consisting of checks and counter checks so delicately adjusted as to instantly reveal any dishonest conduct or any mistake. He said to friends that there could be no embezzlement, misappropriation or breach of trust in his bank, without detection in twenty-four hours. Yet, within a month after he made this confident announcement, it was accidentally discovered that one of his employees had been misappropriating funds for nearly two years, taking in all some thirty or forty thousand dollars. After all, this only goes to show that "eternal vigilance alone is the price of safety."

The best that bank officers can do is to adopt reasonable, thorough and competent bookkeeping methods; and, after that, they must rely upon the faith which they repose in their employees. There is now in vogue in many of the larger banks a method of keeping books, the tendency of which is to prevent the continued falsification of entries—and it has been found to

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be very effective—and that is the transfer of bookkeepers from ledger to ledger, at irregular intervals, and comparison of the pass books with the ledgers, by individuals other than those making the records. Under this system, the bookkeeper not knowing when or by whom he is to be succeeded, there is little probability of any attempt at collusion.

It follows, of course, that a bank examiner has, so far as the ascertainment of liability is concerned, to rely upon the machinery of the bank as he finds it. He can only observe and recommend methods, and, if need be, insist upon their adoption.

Experience, not only in national banking, but in all banking except that of the "wild cat" order, has shown that peril to banks comes from three directions. One is that which panic creates. A panic is a financial tornado. But few institutions can resist its tremendous fury. It will tear down many solvent banking institutions, as the tornado destroys whole cities and devastates wide districts. Its coming is sudden and unexpected. The only safety for a banking community at any time is in "union, which is strength;" and this strength is called upon in a day of sudden financial violence. Thus, in the city of New York, at the time of that needless and senseless panic of 1893, it was the bold and defiant way in which such bankers as Frederic D. Tappen, Henry W. Cannon, George G. Williams, A. B. Hepburn, William A. Nash and J. Edward Simmons, representing the associated banks of New York, met the storm, that prevented widespread calamity. Mr. Tappen, as chairman of the appropriate committee, sat in the office of the Clearing House for many days, receiving in trust the securities of the banks of the association, and issuing the Clearing House certificates for which those securities were held as collateral, the certificates being then, so far as the Clearing House was concerned, legal tender for the payment of the debts of the banks to it. He issued, in this manner, nearly fifty millions of certificates, and thus protected the entire business community of the United States, and held that panic at arm's length, until the fears of the people had subsided. I may be permitted to say here, that due justice has never been rendered Mr. Tappen and his associates for the dauntless courage and the inestimable services which the overthrow of that panic involved.

A national bank examiner could not have protected the depositors of a national bank in a crisis like that, nor could any

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system have been devised which would have given depositors in that, or any other time of panic, absolute assurance of safety.

The other causes of danger to national banks, or any banks, are those which carelessness or error of judgment may involve. The national bank examiner, however, has no authority, with respect to the judgment of the officers and directors of a national bank. He cannot tell them, "you must not loan to this man, or upon these securities," because that is beyond his power. He is not responsible for the management of the bank; nor would it be possible to so extend the powers of a national bank examiner as to give him this authority; for, to do that would make an irresponsible and outside official really the manager of the business of the bank. His function is to determine, after the bank has acted, the character and value of the securities and the indorsements, upon the credit of which money is loaned. That involves judgment on his part just as much as it involves judgment on the part of the officers of the bank. He may be in error as to the value of securities, or as to the credit of a maker or endorser of a note. He can, however, determine whether a security is a quick asset or not; and he knows, as soon as he makes his examination, whether a loan is a loss or not. If he discovers that a large number of loans are dead losses, or that the value of securities upon which loans have been made has seriously depreciated after hypothecation, then it is his duty to determine whether the aggregate losses reach or exceed the capital and resources of the bank. If the loss affects only the surplus or the profits, he can do no more than report the fact to the Comptroller of the Currency; but, if the losses show serious impairment of the capital, the Comptroller of the Currency must act instantly, so that there may be no further impairment, and that what is left may be saved.

Sometimes the judgment of the examiner is relied upon by the Comptroller of the Currency, so that the harsher measures are not taken, but opportunity is given to the stockholders, either by reduction of capital or by making good its impairment in other ways, to place the institution upon a sound financial basis; and this is almost always done without any publicity. A public report of a condition which would require vigorous action on the part of the Comptroller of the Currency would instantly affect the credit of the bank, and would be sure to result in swift withdrawals by depositors, which would make it impossible for the bank to pro-

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tect itself. It is not uncommon for the bank examiner to advise the officers of a bank regarding discounted paper, of the character of which he has been enabled to secure information, or of which he is in doubt, thus enabling the officers of the bank immediately to protect themselves. He does it usually by giving a hint, or by asking "if there is not a good deal of this paper out," or by saying that he wonders why "so and so" is asking for so much discount nowadays.

He is able sometimes to give information respecting the character of securities which it would have been impossible for the officers of the bank to obtain; and his suggestions, in many ways, are of the highest value to the officers of the bank which he at the moment may be examining. This brings me to what I regard as the most important service rendered by the national bank examiners, a service which thoroughly vindicates the system and justifies the framers of the National Banking Act in providing for this method of examination. The public hears now and then of the failure, through dishonesty or misfortune, of a national bank. The disposition is to wonder how it could have happened that a bank should have been so long rotten, notwithstanding the examinations of the examiner. Earlier in this article, it is in some measure explained how a condition of that kind could exist; but it should be remembered that the isolated cases—one here, one there—aggregating in the course of a year a remarkably small percentage of the national banks of the United States, have come in spite of the most approved methods of bank examination, often in spite of the vigilance of the president, cashier and directors. While the public hears of these things, it rarely hears of other services done by the national bank examiners, which has prevented failure after failure, or wreckage after wreckage. The examiner discovers a little weakness here or there; he reports it to the Comptroller and to the officers of the bank. The weak spot is immediately strengthened. He finds that even the capital of a bank may be slightly impaired. It would be within the authority of the Comptroller immediately to close the bank. But, after a thorough examination, it may be deemed best not to do so drastic a thing as that, but to give an opportunity to the stockholders to strengthen the resources, to make good the capital; and, when that is done, the bank goes on, having the value of the experience.

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If the story of such services could be told, the people would perceive the strength of the system, and the supreme service it has rendered to the millions of depositors who have taken advantage of the national bank. Since the national banking system was established, the deposits in the banks have reached figures almost beyond the power of the mathematician to appreciate. The losses occasioned by the failure of banks, in comparison with the immense total of deposits, have been almost inappreciable. Not a dollar of the hundreds of millions of national bank notes that have been issued has been lost through the failure of any bank. Of course, that is simply a perfect record; and it is perfect, because the Government guarantees to the holders of those notes that they will be paid, and retains in its hands the Government securities which the banks purchase and upon which the notes are predicated. The Government cannot guarantee to every depositor that his deposit will be paid back to him; but it assures the depositor that, so far as inspiration, examination and authority of the National Banking Act go, it will do its best to protect him in his deposits; and it is safe to say that in the services thus rendered silently, unknown to the public, it has secured hundreds of millions of dollars by means of the energy, faithfulness, shrewdness and justness of the national bank examiners.

It is a singularly fortunate fact that, during the entire period of business strain and financial anxiety which has been over the American people in recent years, the Government has had, as bank examiners in the district of New York such men as Valentine P. Snyder, now first vice-president of the Western National Bank; the Hon. A. B. Hepburn, who went from the bank examiner's post to that of Comptroller of the Currency, returning to New York as a bank president, and the present bank examiner, William H. Kimball. New York being the financial heart of the nation, and the Association of the National Banks of New York being the vital nerve, not only of this city, but of the country as well, the services of a national bank examiner here entail not only great industry, but thorough knowledge of banking and wise judgment. These gentlemen have fully met all these requirements; and this community owes them a debt of gratitude. In all this period of stress and strain, there was no serious national bank failure.

THOMAS L. JAMES.

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OUR INDIAN PROBLEM.

BY THE REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.

HELEN JACKSON has written the history of a hundred years of our nation's dealing with the Indians, under the title of "A Century of Dishonor." Her specifications seem to make the indictment of her title good. Yet I am persuaded that the dishonor which justly attaches to the history of our dealings with the North American Indians is due rather to a lack of prophetic vision, quite pardonable, in the nation's leaders, and an ignorance and indifference, not pardonable, in the nation at large, rather than to any deliberate policy of injustice adopted by the nation. Bad as has been our treatment of the Indians, it is luminous by the side of Russia's treatment of the Jews, Turkey's treatment of the Armenians, Spain's treatment of the Moors, and, if we include the war of Cromwell against the Irish, the English legislation against Irish industry, Irish education, and the Church of Ireland's choice, it compares favorably with England's treatment of Ireland.

When thirteen States—a fringe of civilization on the eastern edge of an unknown wilderness—constituted the American Republic, there was no prophet to foresee the time when the Republic would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and would include seventy million people. If there were any such prophet he was as a voice crying in the wilderness; no one heard or heeded. The politician is almost invariably an opportunist, perhaps necessarily so, since no great prevision is granted to the children of men. The infant republic did not know and took little pains to ascertain either the extent of the domain which stretched to the west, or the number or character of the people who roamed over it. Each decade was satisfied to provide for its own necessities and leave the next decade to take care of itself. As the boundary line was pushed

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steadily westward new treaties were made, by which all territory west of a given boundary was reserved for the Indians forever. I think it was in 1800 that such a treaty was made, securing to them for all future time the land west of the Mississippi River. All future time is a long while, and each new treaty was made only to be broken, as increase of population and incoming immigration made new demands on the continent for support. Thus gradually grew up without design the so-called reservation system. Less and less land was reserved to the Indians; more and more was taken up by the whites; until at last certain relatively small sections were deeded to separate Indian tribes. In these, according to the treaties made, the several tribes were at liberty to remain forever hunters and trappers, freed from the obligations and without the advantages and perils of civilization.

These reservations have been practically prison yards, within which the tribes have been confined. If any member passed beyond the boundaries of the reservation without leave he was liable to arrest. If he raised crops or manufactured goods he could not carry them for sale to the open market; if he wished to buy he could not go to the open market to purchase. The land was owned by the tribe in common, and the idle and industrious shared alike its advantages and disadvantages. Industry received no reward; idleness involved no penalty. Money due the tribe under the treaty was paid with more or less regularity, generally in rations, sometimes in guns and ammunition to fight the white man with, or scalping knives to take from his head a trophy of the battle. The forms of industry to which the men were accustomed—hunting and trapping—gradually disappeared; little or nothing was done to teach new forms of industry or to inspire the men to undertake them. From the reservation all the currents of civilization were excluded by Federal law. The railroad, the telegraph, the newspaper, the open market, free competition—all halted at its walls. By favor of the government, generally freely granted, the missionary was allowed to establish a church, or Christian philanthropy to plant a school. But as an educated Indian was rather impeded than aided in the tribal community by education, neither the church nor the school could do more than save individuals from a population shut up by law to the general conditions of barbarism. No courts sat in these reservations; no law was admin-

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istered by those judicial methods familiar to the Anglo-Saxon ; no warrants from local courts outside could be executed ; no Indian, if wronged, could appeal to any court for redress. Such law as existed was administered by an Indian agent, a person of ill-defined, and to the Indian mind, of illimitable power. He was as nearly an absolute despot as can be conceived existing on American soil. He was sometimes an intelligent and beneficent despot, sometimes an ignorant and incompetent one ; but in either case a despot.

Thus there has grown up in America, by no deliberate design, but by a natural though mischievous opportunism which has rarely looked more than ten years ahead, a system as inconsistent with American principles and the American spirit as could easily be devised by the ingenuity or conceived by the imagination of man. It has denied to the Indian, often under the generous desire to do more for him than mere justice, those rights and prerogatives which the Declaration of Independence truly declares to belong inalienably to all men. It has made a prisoner of him that it might civilize him, under the illusion that it is possible to civilize a race without subjecting them to the perils of civilization. It has endeavored to conduct him from the relative innocence of barbarism to the larger and more perilous life of a free and civilized community, and to guard him from the dangers of temptation and the consequences of his own ignorance *en route*. The reservation system is absolutely, hopelessly, incurably bad, "evil and wholly evil and that continually." It was never framed by anyone. It has grown up under the commingled influence of careless indifference, popular ignorance, local prejudice and unthinking sentimentalism. The Indian problem is, in a sentence, how to get rid of it in the easiest and quickest way possible, and bring the Indian and every Indian into the same individual relation to the State and Federal governments that other men in this country are, with the least possible violence of rupture with the past and the greatest possible regard for the rights and the welfare of those who are the least responsible for the present conditions—the Indians themselves.

The reservation system, I say, is wholly bad. The indictment against it is fourfold.

In the first place, the Indian Bureau is, and always has been, a political machine, whose offices are among the spoils which be-

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long to the victors. In the twenty years during which I have had some familiarity with Indian affairs, not a single Commissioner of Indian Affairs has been appointed because he was familiar with the Indians or an expert in the Indian problem, and only one who was an expert in that work of education which is, of course, one of the chiefest elements in the Indian problem. They have been, I think, all of them, men of excellent character—honest, able, ambitious to do the best that could be done for the Indian. Some of them have made notable contributions toward the solution of the problem. But each one of them has come into office with little or no familiarity with the problem, has had to acquaint himself with it, and has hardly had more than enough time to do so before his term of office has expired and he has been replaced by a successor who has had to take up the work subject to the same disadvantages. The same policy of political removal and political appointment has characterized the whole Indian administration. Sometimes, the appointments have been made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, sometimes by the Secretary of the Interior, sometimes, practically by local politicians; but in all cases alike not for expert knowledge of Indians but for political service rendered or to be rendered, or from reasons of personal friendship. The notion that there is a continuous and consistent policy to be pursued toward the Indians, and that this requires continuity of service and expertness of knowledge in the administration, has not entered the head of our public men, or, if so, has not been allowed to obtain lodgment there. That so bad a system has secured so many good Indian agents and subordinate officials is a matter for surprise. It is not surprising that it has in more than one instance sent a drunken official to keep the Indians sober, an ignorant official to superintend their education, and a lazy official to inspire them with industry. One recent illustration of the result of this method of administration is to be seen in the removal of Dr. Hailman, the Superintendent of Indian Education, an expert educator, whose retention in his office was urged upon the administration by substantially all those familiar with the work which he had done. An even more striking object lesson is afforded by the outbreak among the Pillager Indians, largely due to three successive appraisals of their timber lands, two of which appraisals have been set aside as inadequate, through the incompetence of the ap-

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praisers, the enormous cost of each appraisal having been charged to the Indians.

But even if the Indian Bureau could be taken out of politics and kept out of politics, the reservation system would still be incurably bad. It assumes that the Federal executive can administer a paternal government over widely scattered local communities. For such a function it is peculiarly unfitted. The attempt to engraft a Russian bureaucracy on American democracy is a foredoomed failure. The Federal government does exercise paternal authority over the District of Columbia. But on the decent government of the district the well being, the health and perhaps the lives of the members of Congress depend; the relation between the government and the governed is thus direct, close, intimate. Local communities in the United States exercise some paternal functions, as in the case of the insane, the sick, and the paupers. But here again those directly interested have an opportunity of exercising an immediate supervision over the work and calling the public officials to account. But it is in the nature of the case impossible that a President, a Secretary of the Interior, or even a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, can personally supervise the innumerable details involved in the paternal administration of communities scattered from Minnesota to New Mexico, and from Michigan to California.

An aristocratic government, composed of men who have inherited political ability from a long line of governing ancestry, and who have been especially trained for that work from boyhood, so that both by inheritance and training they are experts, may be supposed fitted to take care of people weaker, more ignorant, or less competent than themselves, though the history of oligarchic governments does not render that supposition free from doubt. But there is nothing in either philosophy or history to justify the surmise that seventy millions of average men and women, most of whom are busy in attending to their own affairs, can be expected to take care of a people scattered through a widely extended territory—a people of social habits and social characteristics entirely different from their care-takers ; nor is it much more rational to expect that public servants, elected on different issues, for a different purpose, can render this service efficiently. Our Government is founded on the principle of local self-government ; that is, on the principle that each locality is better able to

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take care of its own affairs than any central and paternal authority is to take care of them. The moment we depart from this principle we introduce a method wholly unworkable by a democratic nation. It may be wide of the present purpose, yet perhaps not as an illustration, to say, that if the United States assumes political responsibility for Cuba and the Philippines, as I personally think it is bound to do, it must fulfill that responsibility not by governing them as conquered territory from Washington, but by protecting and guiding, but not controlling them, while they attempt the experiment of local self-government for themselves. We have tried the first method with our Indians, and it has been a continuous and unbroken failure. We have tried the second method with the territory west of the Mississippi River, ours by conquest or by purchase, and it has been an unexampled success. If the Indian is the "ward of the nation" the executive should not be his guardian. How that guardianship should be exercised I shall indicate presently.

This political and undemocratic paternalism is thoroughly bad for the Indian, whose interests it is supposed to serve. It assumes that civilization can be taught by a primer in a school, and Christianity by a sermon in a church. This is not true. Free competition teaches the need of industry, free commerce the value of honesty; a savings bank the value of thrift; a railroad the importance of punctuality, better than either preacher or pedagogue can teach them. To those, and there are still some, who think we must keep the Indian on the reservation until he is prepared for liberty, I reply that he will never be prepared for liberty on a reservation. When a boy can learn to ride without getting on a horse's back, or to swim without going into the water, or to skate without going on the ice—then, and not before, can man learn to live without living. The Indian must take his chance with the rest of us. His rights must be protected by law; his welfare looked after by philanthropy; but protected by law and befriended by philanthropy he must plunge into the current of modern life and learn to live by living. The tepee will never fit him for the house, nor the canoe for the steamboat, nor the trail for highways and railroads, nor trapping and hunting for manufactures and husbandry. Imagine—the illustration is Edward Everett Hale's, not mine—imagine that we had pursued toward our immigrants the policy we have pursued toward the Indians; had shut the

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Poles, the Hungarians, the Italians, the Germans, the Scandinavians, each in a reservation allotted to them, and forbidden them to go out into the free life of America until they had Americanized themselves—how long would the process have taken?

But the capital objection to the reservation system is that it is one impossible to maintain; and it is impossible to maintain because it ought not to be maintained. The tide of civilization, surging westward, comes some day to a fair and wealthy but unused and idle territory. There are forests which no woodsman's axe has ever touched; rivers where waterfalls turn no mill wheels; mountains whose treasures of gold or silver, iron or copper or coal no pickaxe has uncovered; prairies whose fertile soil is prolific only in weeds. "Come," cries the pioneer, eager to develop this useless territory, "let us go in and make those acres rich by our industry." "No!" replies the law; "you cannot." "Why not?" "It belongs to the Indians." "Where are they?" "Hunting, trapping, sleeping, idling, and fed on rations." "When are they going to use this land; to convert this timber into boards; these rivers into mill-streams; when are they going to excavate these minerals and turn these weedy prairies into fruitful farms?" "Never! This land in the heart of a civilized community is forever consecrated to barbarism." The pioneer's impatience with such a policy is fully justified, though his manner of manifesting it is not. Barbarism has no rights which civilization is bound to respect. The question on what basis the right to land rests is one of the most difficult which political economy has to answer. Many scholars who do not accept Henry George's conclusions accept his premise, that the soil belongs to the community, and that individual ownership rests not on any indefeasible right, but on the express or implied agreement of the community. Certain it is that the half a million, more or less, of Indians who roamed over this continent in the seventeenth century, had no right by reason of that fact to exclude from it the several hundred million industrious men and women whom eventually it will support. As little have a tribe of a few hundred Indians a right to keep in unproductive idleness a territory which if cultivated would provide homes for as many thousands of industrious workers. No treaty can give them that right. It is not in the power of the Federal Government to consecrate any portion of its territory thus to ignorance and idleness. It has tried, again and again, to do so;

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it has always failed ; it always ought to fail ; it always will fail. English parks kept untilled, yet ministering to taste and refinement, have always been regarded by political economists as difficult to justify ; nothing can be said to justify American reservations, kept untilled only that they may minister to idleness and barbarism.

The editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, in asking me to write this article, indicated his desire that I should write "on the probable future of the Indians in their relations with the Government, and the reforms necessary in the administration of their affairs." It may seem that I have been a long time coming to any definite answer to this question ; but in order to set forth succinctly a reform it is first necessary to set forth as clearly and forcibly as possible the evil to be reformed. That evil, I believe, is the reservation system. The reform is all summed up in the one word, abolish it. Cease to treat the Indian as a red man and treat him as a man. Treat him as we have treated the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Scandinavians. Many of them are no better able to take care of themselves than the Indians ; but we have thrown on them the responsibility of their own custody, and they have learned to live by living. Treat them as we have treated the negro. As a race the African is less competent than the Indian ; but we do not shut the negroes up in reservations and put them in charge of politically appointed parents called Agents. The lazy grow hungry ; the criminal are punished ; the industrious get on. And though sporadic cases of injustice are frequent and often tragic, they are the gradually disappearing relics of a slavery that is past, and the negro is finding his place in American life gradually, both as a race and as an individual. The reform necessary in the administration of Indian Affairs is : Let the Indian administer his own affairs and take his chances. The future relations of the Indians with the Government should be precisely the same as the relations of any other individual, the readers of this article or the writer of it, for example. This should be the objective point, and the sooner we can get there the better. But this will bring hardship and even injustice on some individuals ! Doubtless. The world has not yet found any way in which all hardship and all injustice to individuals can be avoided. Turn the Indian loose on the continent and the race will disappear ! Certainly. The sooner the better. There is no more reason why we

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should endeavor to preserve intact the Indian race than the Hungarians, the Poles, or the Italians. Americans all, from ocean to ocean, should be the aim of all American statesmanship. Let us understand once for all that an inferior race must either adapt and conform itself to the higher civilization, wherever the two come in conflict, or else die. This is the law of God, from which there is no appeal. Let Christian philanthropy do all it can to help the Indian to conform to American civilization; but let not sentimentalism fondly imagine that it can save any race or any community from this inexorable law.

This general and radical reform involves certain specific cures. For example :

1. The Indian Bureau ought to be taken at once and forever out of politics. The Government should find the man most expert in dealing with the Indians—he may be the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs—and instruct him to bring the Indian Bureau to a close at the earliest possible moment. Once appointed to office for that purpose he should stay there till the work is completed. I believe that in one respect an army officer would be the best fitted for such a post, because he would be eager to bring the work to a close, while the civilian would see a hundred reasons why it should be continued from year to year. His subordinates should be Indian experts, and removed only for cause, never for political reasons.

2. There are, it is said, ten or a dozen reservations in which the land has already been allotted in severalty and the reservations broken up. The agents in such cases should be dismissed. If the Indian still needs a guardian, if there is danger that his land will be taxed away from him, or that he will be induced to sell it for a song, the courts, not the executive, should be his guardian. Guardianship is a function the courts are accustomed to exercise. It ought not to be difficult to frame a law such that an Indian could always appeal to a Federal judge to have his tax appraisal revised, and always be required to submit to a Federal judge any proposed sale of real estate.

3. The Indian and every Indian should be amenable to the law and entitled to its protection. I believe that, despite occasional injustice from local prejudice, it would be quite safe to leave their interests to be protected by the courts of any State or Territory in which they live ; for I believe that the American

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people, and certainly the American judiciary, can be trusted. The policy of distrust has intensified the local prejudice against the Indian. But it would be easy, if it be necessary, to provide that any Indian might sue in a United States court, or if sued or prosecuted might transfer the suit to a United States court. I assume there is no constitutional provision against such a law.

4. All reservations in which the land is capable of allotment in severalty should be allotted as rapidly as the work of surveying and making out the warrants can be carried on. The unallotted land should be sold and the proceeds held by the United States in trust for the Indians. How to be expended is a difficult question. Not in food and clothing, which only pauperize. The first lesson to be taught the Indian is, if he will not work, neither shall he eat. Perhaps in agricultural implements; perhaps in schools; perhaps in public improvements; perhaps in all three. When the land is of a kind that cannot be allotted in severalty, as in the case of extended grazing lands, for example, it would seem as though a skillful lawyer should be able to devise some way in which the tribe could be incorporated and the land given to the corporation in fee simple; in which case the shares of stock possibly for a time should be inalienable, except by approval of the court; or possibly the property might even be administered for a time by a receiver appointed by and answerable to the court.

5. Every Indian should be at once free to come and go as he pleases, subject as every other man is to the law of the locality and the processes of the courts where he is, and under their protection. The Indian with his blanket should have the privilege of travelling where he will, as much as the Italian with her shawl.

6. Finally, as fast and as far as the tribal organization is dissolved and the reservation is broken up, the Indian should have a ballot, on the same terms as other citizens; not so much because his vote will add to the aggregate wisdom of the community as because the ballot is the American's protection from injustice.

The reform is very simple, if it is very radical. It is: Apply to the solution of the Indian problem the American method; treat the Indian as other men are treated; set him free from his trammels; cease to coddle him; in a word, in lieu of paternal protection, which does not protect, and free rations, which keep him in beggary, give him justice and liberty and let him take care of himself.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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THE ATLANTIC FISHERIES QUESTION.

BY P. T. M'GRATH, EDITOR OF "THE HERALD," ST. JOHNS, NEWFOUNDLAND.

OF the subjects claiming the attention of the Joint High Commission now in session, that which undoubtedly gives promise of most difficulty in its settlement is the Atlantic Coast Fisheries question. This is due to the fact that there are three parties to the question, the independent colony of Newfoundland being recognized as having a direct interest therein, not less so than either the United States or Canada. It is the existence of these three factors—each with interests antagonistic to the others—which so greatly complicates the settlement of this matter.

The *crux* of this fishery difficulty lies in the fact that, in order to successfully carry on the industry of cod, halibut, haddock and mackerel catching in the North Atlantic, the American fishermen must obtain supplies of the bait fishes—herring, caplain and squid—which are only to be found in the coast waters of Newfoundland and, to a very trifling extent, of Canada. The deep sea fisheries, enumerated above, are free to all nationalities, because they are prosecuted on the great banks off the Newfoundland coast, but the bait fisheries are the possession of the country whose littoral waters the bait frequent, for they are always taken along the coasts, well within the three-mile limit. The American desire, it is needless to say, is to obtain access to these bait fishes. Newfoundland is willing to concede this in return for free entry for its fish products into the American markets; Canada insists, with England's acquiescence, on participating in any such arrangement.

The American fishing industry is centred along the Massachusetts coast, Gloucester being the seaport mainly dependent upon it. The fishing fleet consists of about 400 sail, of which

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300 engage in the branches of the industry which require bait as an essential. The year's operations begin in January, when a fleet of 80 or 100 vessels goes to Placentia Bay in Newfoundland, and loads with frozen herring, for use as an article of food in the New England States and as bait in the halibut fishery on the George's Banks, the scene of Kipling's novel, "Captains Courageous." These herring are taken in seines by the Newfoundland fisherfolk, and exposed to the crisp cold air of the winter days on scaffolds or platforms of sticks, which allows them to become thoroughly frozen. They are purchased by the American vessels at one dollar a barrel, usually, and about 100,000 barrels are annually taken to the United States, besides half as many more which go to Canada in schooners belonging to that country.

In March the American, Canadian and French fishing fleets flock to our coast, to seek for further supplies of herring bait. The Canadians, being fellow British subjects, have the right to purchase the bait on the same terms as our own fishermen; the French we do not allow to obtain it at all, and they only procure supplies through its being smuggled to them by our own fishermen; the Americans are permitted, under the terms of the *modus vivendi*, arranged at Washington in 1888, to enter our waters and purchase bait on payment of a license fee of $1.50 per ton. This license fee also allows them to procure fishery supplies and stores in our ports, and to transship their fish in bond to United States ports, and the like privileges are conceded them by Canada for a similar fee. Last year only 40 American vessels exercised the privilege of entry into Canadian waters, while 135 took out licenses in Newfoundland. This fact should be borne in mind, because of the bearing it has upon the question of the relative importance of the claims of the two countries. Newfoundland contends that, if she refuses to extend baiting privileges to the Americans, she can cripple, if not destroy, their whole fishery. In proof of her ability to make good her words, she points to the mischief she has played with the French, who maintain a cod fishery on the Banks, with headquarters at St. Pierre-Miquelon, the shelter islets which France holds off the south coast of Newfoundland. Some years ago France, to encourage this fishery and make it a nursery of seamen for her navy, voted a bounty equal to half the value of the fish caught. This enabled

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her fishermen to sell their catch at a figure far below ours, with the inevitable result that she bade fair to drive us out of the markets of Europe. We retaliated by passing an act forbidding our people to sell bait to the French, and the result is that the French catch has been reduced nearly one-half. This being the outcome when the French have headquarters right off the bay where the bait abounds, how much worse would the Americans fare, who would be a thousand miles away from home, with no place to make for shelter?

But there is no desire on the part of Newfoundland to resort to any such measures as that. The little colony contends that the bait supply is indispensable to the American fishing fleet, and that the present arrangement, which gives the colony only about $15,000 a year in license fees in return for this invaluable concession, is inadequate altogether, and it asks for free entry to the American markets for its own codfish and kindred products. Such a proposition is not unfavorably regarded by the Americans, because in 1890 the late Secretary Blaine concluded a convention with Mr. Bond, the Colonial Secretary of this island, on practically that basis. But that convention was refused ratification by Great Britain because of Canada's protest against it, for reasons which I shall deal with presently.

It may, perhaps, be preferable to first summarize the reasons which induced Secretary Blaine to assent to the principle of fishery reciprocity with Newfoundland. In the first place, the Americans recognize that the island, by its possession of the bait supply, controls the situation, and can do great harm to the United States fishing industry. In the next place, Newfoundland, by reason of her geographical separation from the continent and the varied character of her fisheries, could only ship portion of her catch to the American markets. The codfish taken on the Labrador coast and the north coast of the island could not compete with the American product, because it is cured specially for the European markets, and shipped there direct, and only the codfish taken on the south coast, which is nearest the United States, and part of the lobster catch, would be shipped across to the New England ports. A further reason for American friendliness was the knowledge that, by striking a bargain with Newfoundland, the United States would be in-

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dependent of Canada's fishing privileges altogether, and under no obligation to make terms with her.

The contention of Canada then was, and it has just as much force now, that Newfoundland should not be permitted to make an arrangement with the United States and barter away her inshore fisheries, because these were the joint possession of all the British North American provinces. The Canadian protest pointed out that Canadian fishermen enjoyed the same rights to these bait fishes as did those of Newfoundland, and that to dispose of these to the Americans would be to severely handicap the Canadian industry and deprive their people of their just rights. The position was held by Newfoundland to be an illogical one, because Canada could not question the colony's right to make laws governing the industry, or to forbid the taking of bait fishes at all, if she so desired. But the contention, or, rather, Canada's importance as contrasted with Newfoundland's insignificance, served as an excuse for the Imperial Cabinet to veto the Bond-Blaine convention, the plea given being that Canada should be allowed the opportunity of negotiating a similar treaty.

Such is the position at present, and a veritable Gordian knot it must prove to be. The free American market is the prize which the two British competitors are striving for, while the United States, desirous of favoring the smaller, fears that such an arrangement will not be sanctioned, and that then she may be cut off from access to the privileges of either. Canada is desirous of securing entry for her fish into the United States, because her existing markets cannot absorb the quantity caught every year, and because she believes the removal of the existing protective duty will cheapen the cost of fish food for the American consumer, and thus create a very much larger demand, beneficial alike to the American, as well as the Canadian, industry. She is likewise concerned with the possible effect of the American absorption of Cuba and Porto Rico, which consumed large quantities of Canadian fish each year. She also occupies an advantageous position with regard to one of the North American fisheries—the mackerel fishery—which is prosecuted off the Nova Scotian coast. Sometimes the fish go inside the three-mile limit, and if the American vessels follow them they are in danger of being seized by the Cana-

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dian cruisers, which are ever on the watch for such violators of international law. The Canadians also lay stress on the value of the bonding privilege, but the Americans possess that now, and yet they make little use of it. The fact really is, however, that the great desideratum of the Americans is bait, and bait they cannot get elsewhere than in Newfoundland waters in any quantity worth having. Herring are obtainable at the Magdalen Islands, a dependency of Canada, some seasons, and in the Bay of Fundy other years, but there is neither the certainty, abundance nor proximity to the main fishing grounds which are obtainable by frequenting Newfoundland for the bait.

To realize the importance of the question to the New England States, it is sufficient to point out that the United States Atlantic fisheries are estimated to be worth about $20,000,000. To jeopardize the successful prosecution of these would be to strike a crushing blow at the prosperity of the coast towns which form the backbone of the industry, and also at the subsidiary interests concerned and the hundreds of thousands who benefit indirectly by the laborious and hazardous operations of the hardy fishermen who man that peaceful fleet. The recent war, too, has imparted a new aspect to the matter, inasmuch as it has made evident the need for a nursery for seamen to man the warships which Uncle Sam must maintain, and where is it possible to find more sturdy or daring "jackies" than among these fishermen, who dare the worst perils of the deep in their little schooners and cockle-shell boats or "dories?" To maintain this American fishing industry in the past, with but slight thought of the nation's naval needs, successive administrations have imposed a tax upon foreign-caught fish entering the United States of ¾ cent a pound. Even with this protection the industry is a declining one, the more palatable forms into which canned meats are being converted each year making it more difficult to dispose of large consignments of codfish and halibut during the hot summer months. Therefore, the fishing ports, Gloucester, Provincetown, etc., are fighting determinedly against any reciprocity arrangement, especially with Canada, because they contend that the effect of such must be to flood the American markets with Canadian fish, which would thus destroy the home industry. Their fear of Canada is a well-founded one, because the train service between the mari-

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time provinces and the New England States would enable the fisherfolk of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to venture off a few miles daily in their boats and have their catch exposed for sale next day in Boston or New York, while the American fishing schooner, pursuing her quest for the finny prize on the Banks, 200 miles to sea, could only come to land every two or three weeks, and thus would be hopelessly handicapped. Even as between schooners, the Americans would be fighting an uphill battle. Their vessels, outfits and methods of carrying on the fishery are far more costly than those of the Canadians, their crews get far better pay, and whereas it requires an American vessel to "stock" or earn $15,000 before the season can be regarded as a paying one, a Canadian vessel is making money when she has put up $10,000.

Such are the difficulties which confront the United States fishermen if reciprocity in fish products is arranged with Canada. With Newfoundland the dangers are not nearly as many. The Newfoundlanders do not to any extent prosecute the Bank fishery, which is so largely engaged in by the Americans. Hence the competition from this quarter would be trifling. The Newfoundland boat fishermen, isolated as they are, could not so readily forward their daily takes to the United States markets, and their fish would have to be preserved in cold storage vessels or wet-salted, as is now the practice, and, either way, the Americans could contrive to hold their own, and obtain their full share of the home market. The total value of the fish products Newfoundland could send to the United States under reciprocity would not exceed one million dollars; should Canada share in the privilege, she would probably unload six times as much there. Naturally, therefore, the United States would prefer to deal with Newfoundland, but then comes the question whether Canada is able to exert sufficient influence upon the British Ministry to compel a rejection of such an arrangement, should it be come to. There is the further trouble, view it how one will, as to the ratifying of any treaty drafted by the Commission. It will need to be pre-eminently satisfactory to the United States ere the Senate of that country assents to it; if it contains an agreement with Newfoundland, exclusive of Canada, the latter's Parliament will reject it; if it favors Canada at the expense of this colony, our Legislature is certain to adopt the

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like course. The ideal solution, of course, is a treaty containing concessions to both Canada and Newfoundland, but it seems difficult to provide for such a situation without crippling the United States fishing industry.

But, if the Commission disagrees, what then? It is greatly to be feared that strained relations must ensue. Canada and Newfoundland will no longer consent to be bound by the *modus vivendi* of 1888, and the United States fishing vessels will be excluded from British North American waters. Unable to obtain bait, their prospect of making a good fishing voyage will be slight indeed, and neither Canada nor Newfoundland will be much worse off than before. The $20,000 in license fees will be sacrificed, but in return there will be the prospect of our own fishermen securing the American market. With the Gloucester fleet crippled, the price of fish must go so high that we could well afford to stand the duty, and as our vessels can be maintained for about 60 per cent. the cost of the American, the venture will offer sufficient warrant to tempt our traders into it.

All the same, it would be a great pity to destroy the friendly feeling at present existing between the two great Anglo-Saxon nationalities by any rupture on this fisheries question, and the one way of avoiding it should be promptly followed. The United States should grant Canada some special concession on some of the other issues before the conference, with the understanding that Canada shall offer no obstruction to a fisheries arrangement between the United States and Newfoundland.

P. T. McGrath.

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THE FASHODA INCIDENT.

BY LIEUTENANT WINSTON SPENCER-CHURCHILL.

IT is with great pleasure that I avail myself of the invitation which has been courteously extended to me, to write for an American magazine some explanation of the views and intentions of the British people in respect of the territories which are drained by the Nile River. Every nation, every community, has its own troubles and perplexities to face. These absorb its energies and occupy its attention. There is but little time and very often but little inducement to study the affairs of others. Yet the people of the United States, drawn perhaps by the dramatic story of the loss and recovery of the Soudan, certainly by the reciprocal feelings of cordiality which are entertained on both sides of the Atlantic, have evinced a remarkable degree of interest in the progress of what is now known as "The Fashoda Incident" and the events that have preceded it. To endeavor to gratify, and by gratifying to stimulate, that interest, is an agreeable task; and since antipathy often arises out of ignorance and sympathy cannot exist without knowledge, it is perhaps a duty for a citizen of the Great Empire to speak freely and fairly to the citizens of the Great Republic.

The French Government have, after due consideration, almost after undue consideration, determined to evacuate Fashoda. It is scarcely necessary for us to inquire in what proportion they were influenced by motives of justice, and in what proportion by motives of prudence. It is sufficient that they have gone or that they are about to go. After their departure negotiations are to be opened upon the subject of the wide area known as Bahr-el-Ghazal. That is the present position of affairs. But it is necessary, in order to properly appreciate the present, to examine the past; and from the past we may perhaps discern the future.

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In the dark and inglorious days of 1885 the Government of Mr. Gladstone, frustrated in its tardy attempt to rescue General Gordon, decided to abandon the Soudan. They advised the Egyptian Government to this effect, and their advice could not well be disregarded. The tide of Mahdism was rising swiftly with impatient waves. The British soldiers hurried homeward across the desert sands, and presently the whole vast region of the Soudan was submerged by a deluge of barbarism. Then the busy modern world turned its attention elsewhere. The telegraph wires no longer carried tales of devastation, of suffering, of death, to the polite nations of the earth. No special correspondents chronicled the unregarded miseries of the peoples of the Nile Valley. Yet those who knew the character of the Mahdist movement and the nature of those who inspired it, did not need to be told what was going on underneath the storm clouds.

It is possible, almost probable, that but for one memorable fact the condition of things described in Slatin Pasha's "Fire and Sword in the Soudan" would have been allowed to continue indefinitely. That fact was the death of General Gordon. Deep in the hearts of the people of these islands lurked the feeling of dissatisfaction and of discontent which must ever result from failure, however explicable, however disguised. To this emotion the name of Gordon gave expression. The private character of that remarkable man has made a profound impression on the people of Great Britain, and perhaps in some degree on the people of the United States. His death at the hands of infidel savages transformed him into something like a martyr. The idea of revenge, ever attractive to the human heart, appeared to receive the consecration of religion. Even Western civilization is not free from fanaticism. And, as the years passed by, there continued an undercurrent of public opinion which ran almost in the direction of "a holy war." To this influence other forces, known to most communities, were added—the desire to restore the ancient boundaries of civilization; the appetite for military enterprise; the expansive force of Jingoism. Thus, although British interest in the Soudan slumbered and slept it did not die; and many people of many conditions continued to cherish the idea of "going back and getting quits."

The unscheduled cycle of events brought the question of the Soudan before men's minds after the lapse of a decade. Circum-

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stances were propitious. A ministry had come into office supported by a majority which was so strong that there seemed little reason to expect a change of government for six or seven years. The British ministers were likely to be able to carry any projects they might devise to a definite conclusion. They belonged to that party in the state which had consistently assailed Mr. Gladstone's Egyptian policy. Here was an opportunity of repairing the damage done by their Radical opponents. The comparisons that would follow the accomplishment of such reparation were self-evident and agreeable even to anticipate. And the Cabinet was strong. In Egypt, too, the situation was favorable. Through the careful economy and wise administration of Lord Cromer the finances of that country were in a greatly improved condition. By the perseverance and military knowledge of British officers, it was believed that the Egyptian army had been converted into a formidable fighting machine. That belief has since been justified. Besides all this, public opinion in England had been powerfully stirred by the publication of books like those of Slatin Pasha and Father Ohrwalder. If it were ever desirable to reconquer the Soudan, the year 1896 should see the beginning of the enterprise.

It was for many reasons, which it is impossible even to enumerate still less to discuss in this article, desirable to reconquer the Soudan. And it was desirable to do it quickly. The British Government possessed most complete and accurate reports of the French movements toward the Upper Nile. It was a case of "Now or Never."

In the spring of 1896 the country was astonished by the news that the Government had authorized a forward movement southward in the direction of Khartoum. The Radical leaders at once denounced the project in scathing terms. But the nation, although far from relishing its former experiences in the Soudan, was influenced by the undercurrent of opinion I have described, and acquiesced—timidly. The diplomatist said: "It is to forestall the French." The politician said: "It is to score over the Radicals." The ridiculous person said: "It is to restore the Khedive rule in the Soudan." But the man in the street—and there are many men in many streets—said: "It is to avenge General Gordon." Thus the expedition was launched.

Warlike operations began forthwith. The British General in Egypt—Sir Herbert Kitchener—had made the desert warfare the

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study of his life. Within a month the news of a success arrived. Before the year was out the Dongola province was recovered.

The encouragement of success created a volume of feeling throughout England which few have estimated and many have sadly underestimated. It had always been a duty to reconquer the Soudan. Now the path of duty was likewise the path of interest and pleasure. The operations were watched with extravagant attention, and while they progressed the earnestness of the nation increased. As the tides of barbarism were gradually driven back, the old sea marks came one after another into view. Names of towns that were half forgotten—or remembered only with sadness—reappeared on the posters, in the despatches, and in the newspapers. We were going back. "Dongola," "Abu Hamid," "Berber"—who had not heard of them before? Now they were associated with triumph. Great armies fought on the Indian frontier. There was war in the South and the East and the West of Africa. But England looked steadfastly towards the Nile and the expedition that crawled forward slowly, steadily, unchecked, apparently irresistible.

The year 1898 came and with it the scale of the war largely increased. The Anglo-Egyptian army was now within two hundred miles of mournful, far-famed, never-to-be-forgotten Khartoum. It was within two hundred miles of the mysterious and terrible city of blood and filth, that had grown up on the other side of the great river—Omdurman. The interest of the nation, already intense, was stimulated to enthusiasm by the newspapers. Nor were the actual events inglorious. On the 9th of April a great Dervish army, under a famous Emir, which had advanced to drive back the invaders, was destroyed on the Atbara River at a cost of 600 killed and wounded. There followed a summer of waiting till the Nile should rise. At length the waters swelled and the steamers could move freely. Then the final advance began, and with surprising swiftness the climax arrived. On the 2d of September, amid the thunder of sixty guns, the rattle of twenty thousand rifles and the wild whirl of a cavalry charge, the Dervish domination fell in utter and irretrievable ruin, and the people of Great Britain, moved far beyond their wont, sat themselves down to give thanks to God, their Government and their General.

There are no great differences between the moods of a nation

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and of individuals. In the hour of triumph few men will tolerate insult. Who, going finely arrayed to a marriage feast, will think amicably of the street boy who throws mud upon his coat? The force of a revulsion of feelings had often been dilated upon. It was now to have a striking instance. The energies which might have been devoted to rejoicing were turned to wrath and disgust. What was the cause?

Two days after we had taken Omdurman, a strange rumor began to circulate in the camp of the victorious army. "The French," they said, "are at Fashoda." It was reported that the crew of a captured Dervish gunboat had declared that the Khalifa had ordered them to proceed to Fashoda; that on arrival at Fashoda they had seen a strange flag, and that thereafter white men had fired at them with small bore rifles, killing nearly forty. The report proved correct. On examination, small bore bullets were dug out of the wood of the steamboat. The camp received the news with a shrug. If there was to be more fighting, let them given the word at home, and——.

It was not so in England. Astonishment and wonder were succeeded by suspense, and when suspense ended in the certainty that eight French adventurers were in occupation of Fashoda and claimed a territory as large as France, it gave place to a deep and bitter anger. There is no Power in Europe which the average Englishman regards with less animosity than France. Nevertheless, on this matter we were all agreed. They should go. They should evacuate Fashoda, or else all the might, majesty, dominion and power of everything that could by any stretch of the imagination be called "British" should be employed to make them go.

I would ask an American to imagine, for an instant, the spectacle of the soldiers that stormed Santiago de Cuba entering the town in triumph, only to find a German flag hoisted over the Government Buildings, and an intimation from a single German officer to the effect that he was in "effective occupation," but that they were welcome to the protection of the German flag. It is not difficult to imagine what such a situation would have led to. It would have led to more shooting.

The people of England were deeply stirred by the successful conduct and triumphant close of the campaign on the Upper Nile. They were suddenly confronted with the fact that a "friendly

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power" had, unprovoked, endeavored to rob them of the fruits of their victories. They now realized that, while they had been devoting themselves to great military operations in broad daylight and the eye of the world, and prosecuting an enterprise on which they had set their hearts, other operations—covert, deceitful, behind-the-back—had been in progress in the heart of the Dark Continent, designed solely for the mischievous and spiteful object of depriving them of the produce of their labors. And they have firmly set their faces against such international doings.

France is a great nation; a nation of brave and brilliant men; of witty and beautiful women. She has long filled a splendid place in history. She is one of the Great Powers of the earth. If she had desired to prevent the British occupation of the Nile Valley, it was easy for her to protest against that occupation and to make it, if she thought it worth while, a *casus belli*. Then we could have discussed the matter. But it was as much below the dignity of a Great Power, and beneath the courtesy practiced by educated nations, for the French Government to embark on this vile intrigue as it would be for the German Emperor to write a facetious and insulting letter to the President of the United States, criticising the color of his hair or the length of his nose. One of the mushroom ministries of France—a thing that to-day is and to-morrow is "conspued"—had made the great nation, that capriciously amuses itself by being governed in that way, ridiculous and impolite. That is not our affair. I will not venture to suggest improvements to the French nation in their form of government. The true democratic principle is that each community should judge for itself, has the right to judge for itself, and is bound to judge for itself. We cannot consider the internal state of France. We must look to our own concerns.

First of all, this country was determined to have Fashoda or fight. Had we not possessed what we believe to be a legal claim, we should have said that it was ours by right of conquest, and that great nations justify their actions before God, not men—a convenient theory for a strong nation to adhere to and one which, after the recent war between Spain and America, we could not claim any originality in adopting. But we possessed a legal right so indisputable that the French Government have bowed to it with wisdom and with propriety. The field is open for negotiations. What should be the true policy of Great Britain?

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I do not myself believe that our generation will get much value out of the Nile Valley. For in what does the Soudan consist? It is, as it were, a single thread of blue silk drawn across a great brown nugget; and even the blue thread itself is brown for many months in the year. Where the waters of the Nile soak into the banks, there grow thorn bushes and poisonous weeds. Where the inhabitants splash the water over their scrappy fields—perhaps fifty yards square—there are hard-won crops. This belt of vegetation is rarely more than a few hundred yards broad. And the rest is desert—miserable, aching, desolate desert. There is plenty of room to lie down and die in. But it is no place for a man to live in.

The question will readily occur: Why worry about such barren places? It must not be forgotten that the sources of the Nile are physically as much an integral part of Egypt as the roots are an integral part of the tree. The river is also the great waterway of North Africa—the artery by which alone the land can derive nourishment and faculty of development. The French, it is said, are anxious to have "a door on the Nile," a commercial port through which they can introduce their commerce to the riverain peoples. But we English are a free trade nation. Our doors are open. It is as easy for the French to send their merchandise up and down the Nile as it is for the English or the Egyptians or the Americans. Nevertheless, it is clear that the more traffic that passes up and down the Nile, the better for the peoples that dwell on its banks; and if the possession of a door of their own would encourage the French to increase the traffic on the Nile, there does not appear to be any reason why they should not be given their "door"—at a fair price.

We are arrived at a question of price—after all the "motor muscle" of most human transactions. What is the price that France should pay for so good a gift as "a door on the Nile?" It is scarcely likely that we should be so stupid as to abandon the substance of Bahr-el-Ghazal for the shadow of Fashoda. We do not mind how much French merchandise passes up the Nile, provided that the French will recognize that that river flows between banks on which the Union Jack is firmly planted. If France is prepared to recognize that our occupation of Egypt is likely to be indefinitely prolonged, and as an earnest of that recognition will abandon her power to interfere in and obstruct the financial ar-

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rangements of that country, then we may perceive the groundwork of a bargain, which might not only be satisfactory to both high disputants, but will also enable us to avoid the employment of that superior physical force, of which we are so reluctant to avail ourselves, but which is undoubtedly at our disposition. If, however, the French Government insist on making political capital out of their raid on Fashoda, then it is impossible to guess what terrors and tragedies the obscurity in which the future is shrouded may contain. Two facts, one moral, the other material, should, however, be held in view. There is a volume of opinion in Great Britain favorable to the maintenance of the Egyptian territories on the Upper Nile wholly disproportionate to the value of those regions. The construction of the Soudan Military Railway has brought Omdurman to within a fortnight of London, and enables the British Government to send very speedily an army of 40,000 men into the heart of Africa and feed them for as long as may be necessary or even desirable.

I have written thus with frankness what are the views of a very great number of Englishmen. I venture to think that they will not seem unreasonable or unjust to another great community with whom we are united by the sympathy of a single language and consciousness of a common aim.

WINSTON SPENCER-CHURCHILL.

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THE WORK OF THE PEACE COMMISSION.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

THE editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has requested me to answer, as best I can, the following question: Now that the war with Spain has ended gloriously for our arms by land and sea, have the diplomatic negotiations that have so far taken place with a view to its final settlement been of such a character as to secure to us the full fruits of victory in the manner best calculated to promote the ultimate interests of this country, and its honor as a great humanizing and civilizing force in the family of nations?

All English-speaking peoples, whether in the old land or the new, are deeply infected with the love of precedent. Whenever a new case is to be decided, the tendency always is to examine closely the record of the last transaction of a like character, so that the principle then settled may be applied to new conditions with as little change as possible. In obedience to that instinct, we should not now fail to re-examine the instructions directed to the last peace commission that defined the principles through which statesmen of a preceding generation deemed it proper and honorable to secure the fruits of victory when dealing with a weak and vanquished antagonist. When through the exercise of our giant strength we had crushed Mexico, we refused, as she lay helpless at our feet, to take from her a single square mile of territory by right of conquest. Our commissioners were instructed to offer her $15,000,000 in cash, and the assumption upon our part of more than $3,000,000 due from her to American citizens, as compensation for the area out of which has been carved California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah and New Mexico. Thus, through the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was established a new

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principle of national morality which stands alone perhaps in the annals of nations.

For the first time since the conquest of Mexico we have at this moment another vanquished nation at our feet to whom we owe all the consideration and justice that can be due to the weak from the strong. Spain has been an old and a good friend, with whom we have never before broken off diplomatic relations. She has suffered a long series of misfortunes, that have deprived her of more than 7,000,000 square miles of territory in this hemisphere since the year 1800. Cuba and Porto Rico are the last of that once splendid heritage. If it be true, as it undoubtedly is, that Spain has been thus reduced through the inherent vices and weaknesses of her colonial system, it is certainly no less true that the present generation of Spaniards are not specially responsible for something that came to them through inheritance. I lived long enough among them to know that the Spanish nation as a whole is generous, brave and sympathetic. Only such a nation could have produced such high-thoughted and honorable men as Castelar, Canovas, Sagasta, the Duke of Tetuan, Moret, Montero Rios and the Duke of Almodovar. And yet, despite such personal feelings, I deemed it my duty a year ago, after my return from Spain, to try and arouse the people of this country to a realization of the fact that it was our duty to resort to armed intervention, in order to deliver the people of Cuba from an intolerable oppression that constituted a blot upon modern civilization.

When I now look back upon the condition of things then existing, it seems almost incredible that those who were then administering our foreign affairs should have been so blind as to the nearness of the impending and inevitable conflict. That such blindness did then exist there can be no question. President Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University, in a recent address at Princeton, after reviewing existing conditions, said: "If it is true, as a member of the Cabinet has said, that war came like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky, and, as the President afterward affirmed, that 'the storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it,' it is equally true that the nation is not ready for the new problem of civil government upon which it is entering." I know that the first part of that statement is literally true, because in October, 1897, I was specially sum-

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moned to Washington to confer with the President upon the real situation in Spain, with which I was supposed to be specially familiar. He received me with the greatest kindness, and impressed me as being a wise, large-hearted, patriotic man, with an eye single to the good of his country. And I believe that he should have the support of all good men, regardless of party, in his effort to bring the many knotty problems now involved in our foreign relations to a successful and honorable conclusion. We should learn wisdom from the indisposition of English statesmen to carry their internal party differences into their foreign policy.

At the time to which I refer, the President was most unfortunate in having no experienced person at the head of the State Department. The result was that my conference with him was cut short abruptly before I had the opportunity to set before him in a second interview the most important part of what I desired to say to him. Under such circumstances, I deemed it my duty, in view of the prevailing blindness, to lay before the country in November, 1897, through this REVIEW, a summary of the situation as it then appeared to me, in an article which would never have appeared had either the President or his advisers intimated that they deemed its publication in any way detrimental to the public interest. The editor of this REVIEW was so informed at the time. Regardless of the clamor then raised upon the Stock Exchange, by short-sighted men who refused to be told that war was inevitable and that we should prepare for it in season, it can hardly be denied that the article in question did more than any other one thing to acquaint the country of the real situation, and subsequent events have shown that my prognosis was correct in every particular. If I could only have secured a full hearing after I had been summoned for that express purpose, perhaps no one would have had occasion to say that "the storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it." Three months before I departed from Spain, I told the Minister of State, as friend to friend, that, in my judgment, diplomacy had exhausted its resources, that Cuba was lost to Spain and that war with this country was inevitable.

Eager as I was a year ago to see the blow struck by which Cuba has been released from Spanish dominion, I am no less eager, now that that end has been accomplished, to see Spain treated with that equitable consideration which should be sug-

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gested by our dealings under like circumstances with Mexico. What is the present prospect of such a consummation? At this date, November 22, we are informed by cable that the American commissioners at Paris have presented their ultimatum, involving a refusal to arbitrate as to "the control, disposition and government of the Philippines," a question expressly submitted by us in the protocol to the judgment of a mixed commission in which Spain was given an equal representation. After refusing to permit the commission to pass upon that question, and after refusing arbitration, we have summarily demanded the surrender of the entire Philippine archipelago, and, as a salve to Spain, we have tendered in mitigation $20,000,000. In order to prevent all outside interference, we have declared for the "open door" to trade, so as to hold England at our side, eager as she is to secure us as an ally in her Eastern policy. With her aid there is no doubt that we can subject Spain, despite the interference of any Continental nation, to any injustice we may see fit to heap upon her. If there was no such thing as moral accountability the path we are pursuing would certainly lead to a brilliant conclusion. But unfortunately for us, there is such a thing as a forum of conscience, and in that forum we must answer for the first great act that marks our advent as a world power. A leading journal of Paris has thus formulated the accusation we will be called upon to answer: "How miserable is the fate of our Spanish neighbors. American rapacity has not left them an inch of territory they have possessed in America since the time of Columbus, or in Oceanica since Magellan." Upon what grounds can we justify in the eyes of posterity this vast ravishment?

We went into the war professedly to work out a great humanitarian end in the interest of civilization. The war was short and one sided, and at the present moment no one seems to be interested in the special object for which it is said to have been undertaken. The only questions now dominant are those involving the annexation to the United States of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago, without the assumption of any obligations and without the payment of any substantial compensation to anybody. I for one believe that these great results are the natural and inevitable outcome of our expansion, that is moving us on through the agency of immutable laws beyond our comprehension and control. And I am equally sure that it would

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be impossible for us to make any adequate compensation for the priceless possessions now passing under our control. And yet, true as that may be, there is no reason why we should become callous to all sense of law, and in that spirit attempt to deal with Spain in a way that will surely shock the moral sense of the world. At the last accounting, the war has only cost us directly about $165,000,000, and as compensation for that outlay we have appropriated Porto Rico, which can hardly be valued at much less than double that sum. There was no reason, therefore, why we should have been so unwilling, in dealing with Cuba and the Philippines, to recognize those reasonable and natural equities which, under the laws of nations, follow acquired territory.

In my humble judgment our commissioners made a fatal mistake and lost a precious opportunity, through the narrow, technical and uncandid spirit in which they refused every proposition made by Spain looking to a recognition by somebody of some part of the Cuban debt as a charge upon that island. We have frankly admitted in the case of the Philippines that, so far as the debts of those islands represent pacific expenditures, that is, expenditures for the betterment or improvement of the country, they must, as lawyers say, "run with the land," and in that way constitute a charge upon it. Upon what ground have we attempted to reject the application of that elementary principle of law and common honesty to the case of Cuba? The commissioners say that it cannot be there applied, because we do not intend to accept sovereignty over that island. What does the protocol provide upon that subject? Its declaration is (Art. 1), that "Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba." Where is that sovereignty to go the moment that the evacuation of the island by the Spanish troops has been accomplished? There is no question upon that subject. It is now passing into the hands of the United States, whose army is already in possession of a part of the conquered territory, in which our military officers are acting as governors and administrators of the Cuban revenue system. Everybody knows that by January 1 Cuba will be in the military possession of the United States, and that a military government will be established throughout her borders which will rigidly enforce all laws now existing, for the purpose of collecting revenue, both external and internal. That condition will continue to exist until Congress orders otherwise.

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When our contemplated military occupation of Cuba has been completed, why will we not then be in possession of the sovereignty over the island which Spain has relinquished? Our commissioners say that our sovereignty will not then be perfect, because Congress has made a declaration that leads us to believe that a day will come when we will transfer to the Cuban people the sovereignty which Spain has temporarily deposited in our hands for their ultimate benefit. Let us assume all that to be true, and still the fact remains that, as soon as our military occupation of Cuba has been perfected, we will be endowed with what the writers upon International Law call technically a "qualified," as distinguished from an "absolute," sovereignty. As Professor Woolsey (§37) has happily expressed it: "A state which is under the protection of another may be sovereign in some respects, but not absolutely sovereign. Such was the republic of Cracow, until absorbed by Austria in 1846; such were the Ionian Islands under English protection until ceded to Greece; such were also Moldavia and Wallachia under that of Turkey, together with Servia and Egypt under a different dependence. . . . Egypt, still nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey, is practically in the hands of its English trustees." That is a case directly in point. The moment our military occupation of Cuba is complete, we will be trustees in possession of the island and its revenues, just as England is in possession of Egypt. In the one case the ultimate sovereignty is in theory in the Sultan of Turkey, and in the other in the Cuban people. Let us assume that perfect good faith will be observed in both cases; that some day, perhaps the same day, the Sultan and the Cuban people will come into their own. In the meantime, what is the legal duty of the trustee in possession of both the island and its revenue, to the holders of that part of the pre-existing debt for "pacific expenses," which is a lien running with the land? Has England, as the trustee in possession of Egypt and its revenues, attempted to repudiate the Egyptian debt, or disavow it as a charge upon the country, upon the ground that she has only a "qualified" sovereignty? Upon the contrary, she faithfully applies a part of the revenues that she collects as trustee to its maintenance. So, then, when we view the question in its true light, our contention that we should disavow the entire Cuban debt, and refuse to recognize any part of it as a legal charge upon the revenues of the

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island, because perchance our control over those revenues may some day cease, is a mere juggling device. Our Commissioners should never have belittled either themselves or the country by making such a specious contention. They should have frankly admitted the same rule for Cuba that they admitted for the Philippines—that the amount of "pacific expenditures" made by Spain for the permanent improvement of the island should be recognized as a legal charge upon it.

How could that amount have been ascertained? It was reported in the newspapers, without contradiction, that the revolutionary government of Cuba offered not long ago, if it were permitted to deal directly with Spain, to assume an hundred millions of the so-called Cuban debt as a just burden upon the island, in the event its absolute independence should be recognized. Apart from that admission it is quite certain, when the immense work done by Spain in Cuba during centuries is taken into account, that some such sum as a hundred millions would be a very moderate estimate of that part of the Cuban debt that really represents pacific expeditures. If Spain had been met upon that proposition in a broad and equitable spirit, instead of with that juggling device as to sovereignty that no international lawyer can justify, the whole matter might have reached a consummation that would have pacified Spain and have vindicated us in the eyes of the world, without the imposition of any burden whatever upon the Treasury of the United States. If we had admitted that that part of the Cuban debt, which the revolutionary government was willing to assume in the event of its independence, should remain as a charge upon the island and its revenues during our possession of both, Spain would have been thus relieved to a substantial extent of the financial burden with which she is now overtaxed. And then the same method of compensation should have been extended to the Philippines, not simply for the benefit of Spain, but for the benefit of the taxpayers of the United States, who need not be called upon to make any direct contribution whatever.

There is no reason why such a settlement should embarrass us in our future dealings with the Cuban people. If, like Pharaoh, we shall some day soften our hearts and let them go, the moral duty will then devolve upon them as a nation to provide for and maintain the debt, for which we would only be responsible while the

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revenues of the island remain in our hands. If, on the other hand, Cuba is some day annexed to the United States, as it no doubt will be, then our specious plea that we do not intend to accept sovereignty will lose its *raison d'etre* absolutely. Let us look ahead and contemplate a certain possibility. Suppose we shall hereafter conclude that our promise of independence to Cuba was made under a misapprehension of fact, and—as it was improvidently made—that it has become our duty, not only to the Cubans but to ourselves, to convert our qualified sovereignty into an absolute one. Will it not then be rather embarrassing to explain why we refused to recognize any part of the Cuban debt as a charge upon the island, upon the sole ground that we never intended to assume sovereignty over it? This may become a case in which honesty will prove to be the best policy, and the Senate should be careful to see that no treaty of peace shall be concluded that may prove a stumbling block in the near future.

But, apart from all mercenary or interested considerations, we should remember the vast moral responsibilities devolving upon us at this fateful moment in our national history. We have made our debut as a world power, and have assumed in this hemisphere that kind of predominant influence that is exercised by the six great powers in the European concert. In the exercise of such a mission we should remember, as Senator Hoar said the other day, that we are no vulgar military republic, but one of the vanguard of modern civilization. Spain lies broken and distracted at our feet, with no navy, no money, no friends to aid her in the hour of her calamity. At such a moment shall we rise to the dignity of the situation and treat her as the good Samaritan treated the wounded traveller by the wayside, or shall we make her the victim of a spoliation that will pass into history as the most heartless that has happened since the dismemberment of Poland?

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE DECISION AGAINST RAILWAY POOLING.

WHEN the anti-trust law was before Congress it was proposed to make it apply to railways. This was objected to, probably on the ground that there was no need to place railways under the operations of this law when they were already regulated by the inter-state commerce law. The amendment proposed, by which railways were to be specifically included in the anti-trust act, was abandoned, and railways are not mentioned in it as being subject to its provisions.

The act, however, is so broad in its terms that, inasmuch as it does not specifically exempt railways from its operations, it is not surprising that the Supreme Court has decided that its provisions apply to the Trans-Missouri Association agreement and the Joint Traffic Association Agreement, because the object of those agreements was to avoid the "natural direct and immediate effect of unrestrained competition"—lower rates; and they were contracts "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States."

That the Joint Traffic Association and other kindred associations are a violation of the law is clear, but it is not because, as the Supreme Court says, "the natural, direct and immediate effect of competition is to have lower rates, and to thereby increase the demand for commodities, the supplying of which increases commerce;" for, within reasonable limits, the demand for commodities is not increased by low rates. Excessively low rates may stimulate the movement of commodities for the time being, but that movement will be offset by a less active movement thereafter. Low rates do not necessarily increase consumption.

It was clearly the purpose of the anti-trust law to endeavor to prevent any agreement by which the price of any commodity would be regulated, and transportation is, to all intents and purposes, a commodity. The decision of the Supreme Court, therefore, is right, while the law is wrong, and every interest, except railways, that seeks to evade its provisions is able to do so.

The effect of the decision is only to emphasize the difficulty under which railways labor. That it ends the Joint Traffic Association is not much loss. That Association has not succeeded in maintaining rates, nor has it proven of much advantage to the roads which were members of it. The same may be said of other associations: they did not succeed in accomplishing their object—the maintenance of rates. They were more or less of a makeshift, the best that was practicable, inasmuch as the law prohibits pooling. A decision which ends them, therefore, may be looked upon with some equanimity.

It is manifest that the anti-trust act is at variance with the inter-state

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commerce act. The requirements of the latter cannot be complied with except by violation of the former. The gist of the inter-state commerce act is against discrimination, either in favor of persons or places. A just relation of rates cannot be reached except by agreements between roads, and such agreements are declared to be unlawful.

The anti-trust law is hurtful to railways, not because it ends the Joint Traffic Association or the Trans Missouri agreement, but because it forbids all agreements between railways with respect to trains or traffic. It is hurtful to the public, because it produces instability of rates—the curse of commerce—and an unjust relation of rates.

The Supreme Court could not have fully considered the difficulties which beset railway managements when it said: "It is probable that good sense and integrity of purpose would prevail among the managers . . . and the managers of each road might yet make such reasonable charges for the business done by it as the facts might permit." Neither good sense nor integrity of purpose will maintain reasonable rates unless an agreement to maintain them is permitted, with a provision for the pooling of competitive traffic. There are too many roads competing for the business.

The Supreme Court says: "Railroad companies may, and often do, continue in existence and engage in their lawful traffic at some profit, although they are competing roads and are not acting under agreement or combination with their competitors upon the subject of rates." This is hardly true. It is often the case that, where traffic is competitive between two roads, those two roads refrain from destructive competition, but in all instances the rates are made the subject of agreement. To prohibit such agreements is disastrous both to the shipper and to the railway, and the effect will inevitably be the weakening of all roads, both financially and physically.

In the end there will be few railways that can stand the process. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that only the weaker lines will be forced to the wall, and that they will be absorbed by the stronger. The stronger roads will not be sufficiently strong to absorb the weaker, and while capital is so readily acquired for the construction of useless lines, the process of the absorption of the weak lines will be endless.

The only remedy, then, for the existing state of things is, first, to permit agreements among roads as to rates, and, secondly, to permit pooling. It generally happens that, where only two roads are interested, they are able to keep agreements as to traffic. As concerns traffic in which there are several roads interested, there seems to be no help but by permission to pool. It is probable that in all cases they would not maintain agreements, even if permitted to pool. The strife of competition and the multiplicity of lines will operate to break any agreement that may be formed, but this is the best that can be done.

There exist roads which cannot obtain any considerable part of competitive business, in which a number of strong roads are interested, unless it is given them by the stronger roads, or obtained by cut rates. Pooling permits a share of the traffic, or its proceeds, to be given to the weak lines. When this is done, there will be some hope for a better state of things.

ROSWELL MILLER,

President of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway.

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FINANCIAL WRONG IN PORTO RICO.

ON July 27 our troops seized and occupied Ponce; there on the 28th the national emblem was unfurled, and there also on the 28th General Miles issued a general order fixing the exchange of the custom house at the rate of 2 to 1. The officials employed there by Spain are now salaried and retained by the United States, and the rate remains the same, much to the advantage of native merchants.

There are 100 centavos in a peso, a silver coin which in size and weight resembles its American prototype, the bullion value of which is thirty-two and one-half cents. The gold, which is at the high premium of about 35 per cent. above the baser metal, has no fixed value and constantly vacillates. The paper has a value slightly above that of silver, though redeemable in gold at some 65 per cent. below its face value. Therefore, although a gold five peso piece, a five peso note, and five silver pesos are identical in face denomination, yet they respectively exceed the latter by the percentages of eighty-five and twenty. The only bank now under the jurisdiction of the Union, the only one except that of San Juan, has been giving but one hundred and seventy centavos for one dollar of the United States (*i. e.*, 1.75:1), but recently this rate was reduced to only one hundred and fifty centavos for a dollar (*i. e.*, 1.50:1). For several months this bank paid 1.75:1; the merchants from 1.60:1 to 2.00:1; now all dealers about Ponce have followed the lead of their bank, compelling the rate of 1.50:1 for our silver, our notes and our gold. This exchange allows but seven and one-half pesos for a five dollar bill. At the same time the same bank pays eleven pesos for the English sovereign, valued at $4.86½; eight pesos for the French louis, valued at $3.72. Countless shops, although not permitted the bank charter, are willing to oblige the soldier and the citizen of the Union by exchanging his money at the almost net gain of 51.25 per cent. Most banks are content with 1 per cent. on exchange, but not so our ambitious Porto Rican; for him the "Buenos Americanos" means something before a sentiment.

If the spirit of Gen. Miles' order to the customs had been respected in all other custom houses taken, and if general orders had been published by the commander in charge of the forces on the island, or if this privilege had been given to those generals whose troops garrison the different districts and towns, in order that the rate of 2 : 1 might be maintained throughout, there would have been far less injustice done to the interests of the government and great confusion would have been thereby eliminated. If 2 : 1 had been the settled rate, all territory occupied by our forces would have had to conform to a dictate which would have met the approval of those conducting trade upon sound principles. Therefore, to avoid the vastly different and varying changes in rates of different districts, none of which are settled by any law or order, Gen. Grant encouraged the merchants in those places garrisoned by his brigade to trade on the basis of 2 : 1. At the same time the co-operation of the other generals then having commands stationed on the island was solicited, in order to fix this rate for all simultaneously. Most unfortunately, however, this scheme failed through lack of support, and in justice to the inhabitants the old rate of 1.75 : 1 was resumed. And also, most unfortunately, this was at a time when the brigade was paid for three months in arrears; thus the men were compelled to pay 12½ per cent. more on their purchases, which were many.

Native dealers would buy stuffs from a locality where the peso had a higher rate and a consequent lesser value than in the town in which the

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stuffs were to be sold, using the difference to enhance their gain and as means to undersell their rivals buying material in their own locality. Thus merchants and wholesale dealers in parts where a high rate prevailed lost trade and money. To sum up the matter a dealer of Ponce, where there is a rate of 1.50:1, would buy goods at 12½ per cent. less in Guyama, where the rate is 1.75:1; this illustrates the market depreciation of the peso in the district of Guyama. At Ponce this merchant then receives our dollar in payment for articles to the value of a peso and a half. He then repairs to custom house, which, at a loss of 25 per cent., exchanges the dollar for two pesos. Ergo, the merchant makes his nominal gain on the sale; an additional amount from the raise in prices at our occupancy of the territory; 12½ per cent. by buying stock in an alien district; 25 per cent. from the United States. Computing the normal gain to be 25 per cent. net, prices being almost a third more, a clear gain of 100 per cent; this and the gain by the two exchanges permit the wily Porto Rican, more often a Frenchman or a Spaniard, a net profit of 162½ per cent.—not at all bad for a country shop, and quite deserving of enconiums for business ability.

As the national emblem will be unfurled at the capital before this is published a radical movement should be instituted immediately; if not by Congress, then the power should be vested in the military governor by authority of the President. Owing to the dissimilar habits, conditions, interests, institutions and environment, the administrator of Porto Rico must have a greater scope and more arbitrary power than his brother on the mainland. This he will use as his discretion and judgment dictate, and be thereafter held accountable to the administration. Congress cannot, nor can an individual, unless he has remained on the island, thoroughly studied the native element and felt the pulse of its life, understand the condition of his patient, and know the correct physic for her well being.

The most successful of colonizers, our British cousins, understand this, and invest in their viceroy (vice king) almost supreme power; although he is accountable to the home government for his acts, yet they recognize he must know the conditions far more thoroughly than it is possible for them. Therefore, he knowing cause and effect among the natives, they judge him more by the results than by his acts, which cannot be intelligently interpreted by those in an environment so different. Consequently they select a man of talent; they trust to his loyalty to honorably represent the interests of his government, depend upon his ability to honestly minister to the welfare of his province.

To solve the money problem, all Porto Rican currency should be immediately called in. The baser metal not being redeemable in gold at face value should be exchanged at bullion for the national coin. The gold would be worth near its face value; *i.e.*, a gold five peso piece would bring about $4.75, a silver peso about 33 cents, copper about two centavos for a penny. The paper should be received on a silver basis, as it is not redeemable at face value in gold, and its purchase will be a total loss to our government.

Owing to the fact that all large land owners and producers lived abroad the native currency is very limited, and so could be easily collected within a month.

This will, at a stroke, end, at very small cost, injustice to the natives, to our citizens, and to the nation herself.

CLARENCE WIENER.

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CONCERNING ETHICS AND ETIQUETTE.

THOSE who are interested in the larger and deeper questions of life are apt to feel impatience respecting the details, and to ignore, or even attempt to abolish, what they regard as the artificial rules which society has agreed upon as essential. "Let a man do what is right," they say, "let his actions be inspired by the fundamental virtues of honesty and good will; but let the *manner* of the doing be a matter of indifference." However, while it is true that etiquette deals to a large extent with the way in which things should be done, it occasionally takes the imperative mood with regard to actions themselves, and it is also true that ethics is sometimes deeply concerned with the manner of our deeds; for there are vital moral principles involved in many apparently unimportant social forms; as the way in which we salute our neighbor may serve to indicate good will or the reverse. Undoubtedly morals are more than manners, but the greater includes the less and is not complete without it. A careful consideration of the connection between ethics and etiquette should, therefore, be both instructive and interesting; but it is not my purpose here to do more than lightly touch upon some of the most obvious points of contact.

The true relation of etiquette to ethics is indicated by William DeWitt Hyde, in his valuable little book on "Practical Ethics," where he says: "It is neither possible nor desirable to solve each question of conduct as it arises, by conscious and explicit reference to rules and principles. Were we to attempt to do so it would make us prigs and prudes." The proper service of etiquette is to strengthen and simplify the social life by enabling us to do what is right and best without waiting to think about it. The forms and customs which do this may be called true etiquette and those which do not so serve, the false. As Emerson, in his essay on "Manners" has said: "Manners aim to facilitate life, to get rid of impediments, and bring the man pure to energize. They aid our dealing and conversation, as a railway aids travelling, by getting rid of all avoidable obstructions of the road, and leaving nothing to be conquered but pure space."

This suggests the great advantage which they have who are well born and well bred, inasmuch as the fundamental and reasonable rules of society are as second nature to them. They are saved all the friction of worry as to whether this is right, or that is the proper form, and so they glide through life with far greater ease than less fortunate ones, who must either study the rules of the game, or expose themselves to innumerable chances of annoying and being annoyed because of their ignorance.

In the important affairs of life it is the duty of each individual to inquire into and decide for himself the action which he should take; but to do so in all the little matters of daily existence would be intolerable labor, and we should be thankful that, while the matter of being well born is one which we cannot control, some acquaintance with etiquette is possible for nearly all in these days. It is unfortunate that those who attain positions of prominence in society, and have most influence on the forms which govern the same, are not always possessed of a very high ideal; yet we may hardly doubt that the opinions of the majority will be in accord with the accepted laws of morality, so far, at least, as outward forms are concerned; and in matters of social intercourse we ought to be generally safe in accepting without inquiry the decisions of those who have made a specialty of the subject.

I saw it casually mentioned in a newspaper article not long since that

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New York was the only city in America where pedestrians had thoroughly learned to pass to the right. If this be true, it is certainly strange that a rule at once so simple and so conducive to comfort should not yet be fully appreciated and faithfully followed by an enlightened democracy. It goes to show that large numbers of the people have taken too literally the maxim, "Put yourself in his place." It is not impossible that among the many who aggravatingly persist in impeding the traffic and rousing the angry passions of those whose haste they retard, may be found more than one broadminded and benevolent philosopher, who prides himself on his fine sense of justice, but who has not time to think of such little matters as the manner and place of his promenade, and who has unfortunately missed what may be called a mechanical training in etiquette.

In these days, when women as well as men are devotees of golf, wheeling, tennis, and other active sports, languid elegance has somewhat gone out of style. Might it not be a benefaction to revive it, in moderation? at least to make it the fashion to do certain things leisurely? In some circles it is still considered correct to arrive late at the theatre, and even at church service; but the only excuse that could exist for such disturbance of the audience or congregation is lost when the tardy ones enter, as is now the rule, with such bustle and fuss as preclude any idea of leisurely comfort. If you wish to give to others that pleasure, bitter sweet, which arises from mingled admiration and envy, whether you go to church or theatre get ready in good time, and then go thither, on foot if you must, but in any case with "elegant ease." 'Tis not to be doubted that those who can "stroll" to the play, with calm and receptive minds, have far more delight, and are therefore more delightful to look upon, than those who dash there frantically with a carriage and pair, probably already exhausted, mentally and physically, by the excitement or the boredom of a large dinner-party.

In his entertaining if not highly instructive book on "Society as I Have Found It," Ward McAllister quotes the words of a friend, whom he describes as himself the most polished, courteous and fascinating gentleman of that or any other period. "'My dear fellow,' he would say, 'for heaven's sake, go slow; you tear through the streets as if at some one's bidding. A gentleman should stroll leisurely, casting his eyes in the shop windows, as if in search of amusement, while you go at a killing pace, as if on business bent. The man of fashion should have no business.'" We cannot all be men of fashion, and some of us would not greatly care to be; but we may all enjoy leisure at one time or another, and it costs nothing to share our enjoyment with others by letting them see us at peace with the world and ourselves.

Fussiness always means discomfort, not only for the fusser and the fussee, if we may so designate them, but for all who are within sight and hearing. Etiquette rightly forbids the slightest tendency to this; and it is "bad form" to take any notice whatever of mishaps unless practical assistance can be rendered. So, to lose one's temper inwardly, is in some aspects worse than to relieve the feelings by any approach to profanity; yet swearing is essentially vulgar. The relief it affords to those indulging is overbalanced by the discomfort it imposes on the hearers; and to "consume one's own smoke," as Carlyle was so fond of preaching in spite of his practice, is here the golden rule. "All that fashion demands is composure and self-content," says Emerson, and on the whole he is right, though we could wish the demand were more fully complied with.

True consideration for others rightly disposes us to appear as comfortable

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as circumstances will permit; but if the motive is wrong, as where the desire is to appear superior, of a finer type than the common mass of humanity, we are apt to be led astray. Thus, in the matter of carrying parcels, it is quite desirable that we should, so far as possible, avoid the appearance of being burdened; but when a man meets a lady of his acquaintance and fails to take upon himself the care of any packages she may have, he marks himself as either a boor or a snob. In the same way, we are justified in making ourselves comfortable in a public conveyance; there is even something very irritating in the attitude of those people who are continually solicitous for the comfort of others; who, on railway or street cars, are forever on the point of rising from their seats, ready to surrender them before they are wanted, or rushing to open or close windows, to which it is the duty of conductor or porter to attend. On the other hand, he or she, for that matter, who ignores the real needs and comfort of others, monopolizing unnecessary space in a crowded hall or car, or talking loudly in concert room, theatre, or reading room, is an offender. It is curious to notice how careless, or defiant, some otherwise well bred people are in these matters. For one example out of many, notice the open cars that run upon the streets in summer; the kind on which the seats run the entire width of the car, with entrance from one side only. Those who first enter will almost invariably sit down at the entrance, making it necessary for all who come later to push by them, often a difficult matter, and one involving discomfort for all concerned. There seems no excuse for this, unless the first comers suppose they will want to alight first (which can only be a matter of conjecture), and desire to secure easy exit for themselves.

But the behavior of people in crowds would make an interesting study, of itself. In an ordinary crowd the majority are apt to be unacquainted with any formal etiquette, and the rest seem to forget all they ever knew; only those who are possessed of natural politeness and unfailing good nature are saved from becoming savages under such circumstances. Of course it is unpleasant for people of refined nature to be brought into very close contact with the ruder populace; and it very frequently happens that the very ones who have had most training in courtesy are the most disagreeable when in the midst of a crowd. The nerves of the common people are less easily disturbed; and the physical discomforts common to crowds are not greater than they are accustomed to in ordinary daily life. Unless you can be sure of bearing yourself with courtesy and good humor, you should avoid crowds, for your own sake, as well as out of consideration for others. If, from choice or necessity, you flock with birds that are not all of your own fine feather, your aim should be to respect the rights of others, without relinquishing your own. You are not a door-mat, to allow yourself to be trampled upon without remonstrance; nor yet a cur, to snarl and snap at those who, perhaps through no fault of their own, encroach upon you too closely. Even in the highest circles people are apt to lose their heads, to say nothing of their hearts, when massed in large numbers; as witness the frays that are reported to take place among the fair "gentlewomen" who attend the Queen's drawing-room.

It is to be feared that under such circumstances women are more frequent offenders than men; perhaps the finely strung and sensitive feminine nature is more easily thrown out of gear. Watch the line formed in the post office during busy hours by those who desire to purchase stamps or get their mail. Every man as he comes in resignedly takes his place at the foot of the line; or if, after consulting his watch and measuring with his eye

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the length of the line, he concludes that he cannot spare the time necessary to advance from head to foot, he quietly leaves, to get his stamps elsewhere, or go without them. But a woman will exclaim impatiently on first entering. Then, if she does not actually try to push her way in at the front, she will stand at the foot of the line for a few moments, fretting and fuming, and telling everyone about her that she "really hasn't time to stand there." As likely as not, after advancing a few paces, she will give it up and rush off to return again shortly to find the line as long as ever and herself once more the last unit thereof. Even when a woman is not actually in a hurry she is apt to imagine she is when she sees others in front of her; like a nervous racehorse she at once begins to fret and fume because of an innate desire to "get ahead." This of course is not true of all women, nor does it fail to apply to a few of the other sex; and in any case it is not so much an inherent defect of character as the result of a lack of training in what has been called "the painful art of patience."

Men and women alike will do well to "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" the following words of Dr. Hyde, if I may be permitted to give another quotation from so tempting a source. "Politeness is proper respect for human personality. Rudeness results from thinking exclusively about ourselves and caring nothing for the feelings of anybody else. The sincere desire to bring the greatest pleasure and the least pain to everyone we meet will go a long way toward making our manners polite and courteous." And Ward McAllister has said, in the same strain, though in an evidently lower key: "My understanding of a gentleman has always been that he is a person free from arrogance, and anything like self assertion; considerate of the feelings of others; so satisfied in his own position that he is always unpretentious, feeling he could not do an ungentlemanly act; as courteous and kind in manner to his inferiors as to his equals." Beside this definition it is well to place that given us by Emerson: "The gentleman is a man of truth, lord of his own actions, and expressing that lordship in his behavior, not in any manner dependent and servile, either on persons, or opinions, or possessions. Beyond this fact of truth and real force, the word denotes good-nature, or benevolence; manhood first, and then gentleness."

In an address upon the subject of society, Rev. Minot J. Savage has declared: "I have said we are all exclusive. When we have put our arms of sympathy around all those we care to know, we have shut out a good many more than we have taken in. If any lady of this congregation should start out with the intention of becoming acquainted with everyone else in it, if she was able to succeed, it would not be long before her acquaintance would be of little worth." This is a truth hard to recognize. Youthful, ardent souls are apt to imagine that their large sympathy is in fact infinite; they are ready to exclaim, with Meg's baby in "Little Women," "I loves evvybody." But suppose you watch for a little while the human stream that flows through the streets of a large city; stand at the approach to Brooklyn Bridge of an evening, or at the entrance to the ferries in San Francisco, or any similar spot; look along the seemingly endless line of tired faces; then consider whether any mortal heart could bear the awful burden of even knowing about all the individual sorrows, cares and anxieties of those who make up even one of those throngs. Courage and strength fail us at the bare idea, and we are tempted to long for the seclusion of the oyster or the clam. Since the ideal of universal love, and the longing to attain thereto, are so common to men, we are led to believe that it will one day become an actuality; perhaps for the race, in generations to come, per-

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haps for each individual in a future state, when intercourse shall have become possible through other means than those provided by the too easily wearied body of this earth; but at present we are subject to the flesh, and it is useless, even dangerous, to attempt to ignore the fact. Our capacity for love, and the joy of fellowship, may be and should be, increased by exercise; but the exercise must be moderate, the expansion gradual.

In the meantime it is a pleasant and safe course to have always ready a kindly greeting or a cheerful response for any with whom we may chance to be thrown; and this without waiting for any *abracadabra* of a formal introduction. To do so does not require an artificial or hypocritical politeness; we can honestly wish people well without any great effort. "If we think of our neighbor as he thinks of himself we cannot help wishing him well," says Dr. Hyde, with a touch of humor. And a very slight expression of such well wishing, involving no burdensome confidences or intimacies, will serve to convey the feeling of kindliness.

But I am wandering rather far from my chosen subjects, or from the second of them at least. After all, etiquette is a very limited field, and as soon as we begin to consider the realities of life we are apt to lose sight of it altogether.

Yet is it not a study to be sneered at; nor should we be willing to leave it altogether in the hands of those who would degrade it to a merely artificial code of social procedure. Let us rather attempt to aid its extension and development along the highest lines, infusing into it the spirit of Lord Chatham, the who has somewhere said: "Politeness is benevolence in trifles; the constant preference of others to ourselves in the little daily occurrences of life." And let us always bear in mind the wise words of Goethe: "There is a politeness of the heart. This is closely allied to love. Those who possess this purest fountain of natural politeness find it easy to express the same in forms of propriety."

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